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A

COLLECTION

Of Several

TRACTS and DISCOURSES

Written in the Years

1677, to 1704.

By *GILBERT BURNET*, D.D.
Now Lord Bishop of *SARUM*.

In Three Volumes.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Ri. Chiswell*, at the Rose and Crown
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. MDCCIV.



COLLECTION

THE

07:3651

A
COLLECTION
O F
Several Tracts
AND
DISCOURSES,

Written in the Years

1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681,
1682, 1683, 1684, 1685.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

L O N D O N:



Printed for Ric. Chiswell, at the *Rose and Crown* in
St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCLXXXV.

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COLLECTION

07:3657

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A
VINDICATION
OF THE
ORDINATIONS
OF THE
Church of England.

IN WHICH
It is Demonstrated that all the Essentials of Ordination, according to the Practice of the Primitive and *Greek* Churches, are still retained in our Church.

IN ANSWER
To a Paper written by one of the Church of *Rome* to prove the Nullity of our Orders; And given to a Person of Quality.

The Second Edition.

LONDON:

Printed for *W. Chiswell*, at the *Rose and Crown* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*. MDCLXXXVIII.



VINDICATION

OF THE

ORDINATIONS

OF THE

Church of England.

IN WHICH

It is Demonstrated that all the Elements of Ordination, according to the Practice of the Primitive and APOSTOLICAL Churches, are still retained in our Church.

IN ANSWER

To a Paper written by one of the Church of Rome to prove the Necessity of the Orders, And given to a Person of Quality.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Printed by J. DODD, at the Key and Anchor in St. Pauls Church-yard, MDCCLXXII.

THE
PREFACE.

THE Agents of the Church of Rome studying to accommodate their Religion to every Man's taste and inclinations; use their endeavours with all persons, in those things wherein they think they may most likely succeed. If they find some that love to live at their ease, and to reconcile their hopes of pardon, and Heaven with a lewd life, then they offer to secure them by slight confessions, easie Penances, cheap Pardons, and Indulgences, and the communication of the merits of other persons: If they fall on others of a sower composition, the severeties of some Religious Orders and unmerciful Penances are laid before them: If they meet with those that can easily believe every thing that is told them with much assurance, then many Miracles and other wonderful Stories are mustered up: If others seem not so tractable and credulous, then they study to shew them there is no certainty at all about Religion; if all their Tradition be not believed: And so they can but shake them from our Church, they care not whither such doubts may drive them, were it headlong to Atheism: If they find others that are fanciful and Enthusiastical in their Religion, then they tell them of Visions, Raptures, and Ecstasies, without number: Or if they fall on others that love the order and gravity of the Church, then they think the Game is easie and sure, they tell them of the Antiquity, Universality, and continued Succession of their Church, and of the novelty, the narrowness, and want of Succession in ours. And though the fallaciousness of these Objections have been so oft laid open, that by this time it might have been reasonably expected men of ingenuity and probity should have been ashamed of continuing them; yet these Gentlemen are proof against all discoveries. The Reader will easily discern how guilty the Writer of the following Paper is, of going in the beaten tract of asserting things

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things confidently; which, if he be a man of learning, he must needs know they have no strength in them: And if he be not acquainted with Ecclesiastical Learning, (which in Charity to him I am bound to believe) it is very presumptuously done of him to give out Papers of this Importance, in a point that no man ought to engage in but he that has studied Antiquity to some competent degree. For to charge any person, much more a whole Church, with the basest Sacrilege and Forgery, unless one be well assured in his Conscience that he is able to make it good, is such a piece of uncharitableness and high presumption, that I know no excuse it can admit of: And if our Church be bringing Souls to Christ in the method proposed in the Gospel, how much has the Writer of this Paper, or any other that manages these Arguments to answer for, that study to raise such scruples astend to cros and defeat so good a design?

But this Paper, weak as it is, was thought fit to be copied out, and given about, and was brought to a Person of Quality, that had been educated under a deep sense of the reverence due to the Church and Church-men; So that that they hoped if such a one could be once induced to believe that we had no Orders, nor Church-men duly called, among us, it had been easie to have prevailed further. But that Person being sincerely pious and devout, and not easily shaken with every story that was made, and being desirous to be fully satisfied in this matter, conveyed the Paper into my hands, and I was put upon the answering it.

I quickly saw that the Arguments were so weak and trifling, that they were very easily answered; Yet since I was to engage in such a subject, I resolved to do it with as much care and industry as the importance of the Matters required: And finding that, for all that had been written on this Controversie, there remained a great deal to be said, I have so fully considered it, as I hope no scruple will remain with discerning persons, and for the endless doublings of weaker minds, and the restless endeavours of busie Emissaries, nothing can satisfie or silence those.

It may seem too great a presumption in one that is a stranger in this Church to engage in a Question that so much concerns it. But though I had not my Orders in this Church, yet I derive them from it, being Ordained by a Bishop that had his Ordination in this Church; so that I am equally concerned in the issue of the Question: And I am confident no body shall have

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have cause to imagine that I engage in it with design to betray or give it up.

Among the many unjust and spiteful Calumnies, with which the Clergy of the Roman Communion, study to asperse and disgrace the Reformation, there are none more frequently made use of, than these, That there are no Pastors Lawfully called or Ordained among us. That we have not the Power of making God present on our Altars, as they have, nor the power of absolving from sins, much less of Redeeming Souls from the miseries they are under in another state. They tell their Credulous followers, that we were all at first no better than a Company of Tub-Preachers, and that all the disorders we saw of that sort during the late Wars, were as justifiable as the first beginnings of the Reformation. And tho the ridiculous Fable of the Nags-head, be so manifest a Forgery, supported by no good Evidence, and overthrowen by the Authority of so many publick Records, besides many other clear presumptions from the state of things, and the time in which that was said to be done, that one might very reasonably expect that all sober or discreet persons should be ashamed of so foul an Imposture; yet it serves them still for many a good turn, and so they will never lay it down: Tho I dare boldly say there is no matter of Fact of which there are no surviving witnesses, that can be Demonstrated with clearer Evidences than the Regularity and Canonicalness of the Ordination of Arch Bishop Parker. Others, that are not so lost in impudence, yet say that tho we have a shadow of a Succession among us, yet we shew how little regard we have to Orders, when we acknowledge the Protestant Churches beyond the Seas to be true Churches, tho many of them do not so much as pretend to a continued succession of Pastors.

For the foreign Churches, they are able to speak for themselves; nor is it needful for me here to shew what grounds there are for our Churches holding Communion with them. But it must be acknowledged to be a high pitch of boldness and injustice to charge us, as if we did not ascribe all due honour to holy Orders and the Succession of Pastors. We know and assert, That no man can take this honor (of Priesthood) to himself, but he that is called of God as was Aaron: so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high Priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. We reject the ex-

See the 23.
Art. of our
travagant Church.

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travagant and bold pretences of hot-headed or factious Enthusiasts, and have learned out of the Gospel, that a publick calling was necessary, even to those who had the most extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost. Our Saviour sent his Disciples as his Father had sent Him; and laid his hands on them and gave them the Power of binding and loosing. And tho' God had by his Spirit called Saul and Barnabas, to the Apostleship of the Gentiles, yet they did not enter upon the discharge of that Function, till by the direction of the Holy Ghost, (whether by a voice formed in the Air, or by a secret Inspiration, it matters not,) they were separated, for the work of the Ministry by Prayer and Imposition of hands. And tho' Timothy was by some Prophecies marked out as a Sacred Person, yet he was received into that Function by the Imposition of St. Paul's hands. From these sacred Authorities, backed with the constant Doctrine and practice of the Churches of God, in all Ages, we do hold a visible Vocation and Ordination of Pastors necessary in the Church.

But whether the Roman Pontifical, or our Ordinal comes nearer the Rules and Instances in Scripture, and the forms of the Primitive times, for at least Eight hundred years, any that will compare them, will easily discern, and it is the chief subject of the following Work, fully to evince the advantage of our forms beyond theirs.

It is true, we do not extol the Office of Priesthood to that height, as to say, the Priest can by a few words work the greatest miracle that ever was, and can make God present, (as they love to Phrase it) this we think is the honouring the Creature more than the Creator. Nor do we exalt the Priest above God's Vicegerent on Earth our Lawful Sovereign, whom (according to the Doctrine of the Primitive Church, even when persecuted by their Emperours,) we honour as next to God, and one who is inferiour to God only. And therefore we reject the Seditious comparing of the Dignity of the Priestly Office, with the Kingly, which has not satisfied the Ambition of the Romish Clergy since Hildebrand's days, but the one must be preferred to the other. Nor do we pretend that our Character gives us an Immunity to commit Crimes, and an Exemption from the Civil Courts, when they are Committed. This were to make the Altar a Sanctuary for the most Criminal, and the house of Prayer a Den of Thieves and Robbers.

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It is true, Christian Princes granted these Immunities at first, that Church-men might not be disturbed in their Callings, nor vexed with troublesome Sutes. But afterwards that would not suffice, but the Doctrine of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Immunity, was set up, as a thing most sacred: and no wonder was it that men durst not presume to lay hands on him who could bring down not only Legions of Angels, but God himself with a word. And in the beginning of this Century, Italy had almost been imbroiled in a War of the Pope's making; for which he pretended this for one cause, that the State of Venice had apprehended two notoriously leud and flagitious Priests, and were proceeding against them according to Law. But he saw other Princes were not very ready to second him, and yet he did not lay down the quarrel till the Process of the Priests was discharged, and they were set at liberty. Such Exemptions are very profitable for a corrupt Clergy, but if any such be among us, we claim no such Protection, being willing to leave them to the Law.

We know as little ground for thinking the Priest, by his saying Mass can bring Souls out of Purgatory; the Scriptures have made no discoveries either of Purgatory, or the ways to escape from it, or get out of it: The Primitive Church continued still as Ignorant as the Holy Pen-men had been; but in the darkest Ages, (the night being a fit time for Dreams) this other world was discovered, which has brought greater returns of Power and Riches to that Prince, under whose protection the discovery was made, than the world Columbus discovered, has sent to the Crown of Castile. And tho' the trade is not of that advantage that it was, yet in gratitude for past services it must never be neglected, or as when the vein of a Mine fails, they dig on through the hardest Rocks till they find it again, for the works must still go on. But we, poor Souls, have nothing to do with that gainful Traffick; and therefore the Glory of the discovery, and the Monopoly of the Trade, we freely resign up to them, and acknowledge the profits of new Inventions, by the Rules of all Government, are only due to the Inventors; so that they have no reason to quarrel with us for leaving this entirely to them.

For the power of binding and loosing, we do assert, that as our Saviour vested his Disciples with it, so it is still in the Church: but if the vigour and exercise of it be much weakened, we have none to blame for it but the Church of Rome: who have now

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in a course of many ages, laid down all open and publick penance. So that the World being once delivered from that which to licentious men seemed a heavy Bondage, it is not to be wondered at, if the Primitive strictness could not be easily retrieved. 'Tis true, this is a defect in our Church, it is confessed by her in the Office of Communion, and she wishes it may be restored; but the decay and disuse of it begun in the Church of Rome; and every body knows that what is severe and uneasy to Flesh and Blood, is not soon submitted to, when the practice of it is for any considerable time intermitted.

Lib. de Fregu.
Commun.

But the Clergy of that Communion, thought they had made a good bargain, when the necessity of Auricular Confessors, and private Absolution was received: to which the Laity did more easily submit, that they might be freed from the shame of open penance: and they knew how to deal with their Priests, when the penance was secret, none knew either the heinousness of their sins, or the nature of the penance: so it was more safe for the Priest to enjoin what he listed, and give Absolution on what terms he pleased. And then because it was painful to have the Absolution delayed, till the penance was fulfilled, which was the Rule of the Primitive Church, Absolution was granted immediately upon Confession without more ado: as Arnaud has fully discovered to the World.

Certainly every body that considers these things must discern what Merchandise the Roman Clergy have made of the power of the Keys, to make themselves Masters of all mens secrets, and of their Consciences, then was the necessity of secret Confession set up; though there be nothing in Scripture that favours it: any places that look that way, being only meant of Confessing our Faults to those against whom they are Committed, or of a publick Confession in the Cases of publick Offences. Nor can it be pretended with any Colour of truth or reason, that the Primitive Church did set up or Authorise Confession, in any other way than as our Church does, recommending it only as an excellent mean, towards the quieting the Conscience, and avoiding of all Scruple and Doubtfulness.

Penitence is also a mean for humbling the sinner more, for possessing him with deeper apprehensions of the guilt and evil of sin, and of the Justice of God, and for engaging him to more diligence and watchfulness for the future, and by these Rules
all

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These practices are common, and avowed in that Church, and by these and such like have the Jesuites got all the world to make their Confessions to them: of which such discoveries have been made by the Writers of the Port-Royal, that we need say nothing but only look on with Astonishment, and see the Impudent partiality of the Court of Rome, and how obstinately they are resolved to reform nothing, For tho the practice of the whole Church in all the Councils that were held for many ages, be clearly of the side of the Jansenists, yet they must be condemned, their Books censured, and the practices of the Jesuites encouraged and supported.

After all this of what Undaunted Consciences must they be, who charge our Church as opening a Sanctuary for Vice and Impurity: because we retain not the necessity of secret Confession, and Absolution. Which (whatever they may prove if well managed,) are according to the practices of that Church, and the Casuistical Divinity that is in greatest Credit there, and by which their Priests are directed, Engines for beating down all Religion and common Honesty.

But our Church owns still the power of the Keys, which is not only Doctrinal, when the Mercies of God are declared, or his Judgments denounced; but it is also Authoritative and Ministerial, by which all Christians are either admitted to, or rejected from the Priviledges of Church-Communion, and their sins are bound or loosed. With this we assert the Pastors of the Church are Vested. Art. 33.

For the Rites of our Ordinations, we still retain those which are mentioned in the Scriptures, which are Imposition of Hands and Prayer. As for the forms of Prayer, the Catholick Church never agreed on any, nor decreed what were to be used. Every Church had their own forms. And though the Church of Rome did unmercifully enough impose divers things on the Greek Churches, and because they would not yield to her Tyranny, she left them to be a Prey to the Turk, and did not interpose her Authority with the Princes of the West, over whom she was then Absolute, to arm them for the assistance and defence of the Greeks; yet amidst all this desire of Rule, they were never so unreasonable as to impose their Liturgies, Rituals, or Missals on them, but in these they left them to their own Forms, and so continue to do to this day. Anciently they had no more Jurisdiction over the British Churches than over the Greek Churches. So that by the division of Provinces confirmed by General Councils, and by a particular decree of the Council of Ephesus, no new Aet. 7.

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Authority over any other Churches was to be assumed by any See, but all were to be determined by the former practices and customs of the Church. It is certain that before that time the Bishops of Rome had no Patriarchal Jurisdiction in Britain; so that if the Decrees of General Councils will bind them, they ought not to claim any Authority over us.

But if the Popes build new Pretensions on Austin the Monk's being sent hither by Pope Gregory the Great. We are ready to refer this matter to his decision, and will stand to his award, for he being consulted by Austin about some particulars, one of these was.

3. Inter.

Since there is one Faith, how comes it that the Customs of the Churches are so different, and that one form of Missals is in the Roman Church, and another is in the Churches of the Gaules or of France?

From this Question it appears that even France, which was undoubtedly within the Patriarchat of Rome, had Forms different from those used in Rome: But let us now hear what Answer is given by Pope Gregory, which may be reasonably believed ex Cathedra, and so of great Authority, with all who acknowledge the Infallibility of that See.

Epist. 31. l. 12.
Ind. 7.

You know the custom of the Church of Rome in which you were educated, but my opinion is, that whatever you find either in the Holy Roman, the Gallican, or any other Church that may be more pleasing to Almighty God, you shall diligently choose out that: and infuse in the English Church, which is yet but young in the Faith by careful Instruction, what you can gather from many Churches; for we ought not to love things for the sake of a place, but places for the sake of good things; therefore choose from all Churches the things that are Pious, Religious, and Right, and gather all these in one bundle and leave them with the English, that they may become familiar to them.

It will be hard for the Agents of that Church to find out a Reason why Austin Bishop of Canterbury might make such changes in the Liturgies by gathering out of the several Rituals that were then in the World what he thought fit, and yet to deny the same power to Arch-Bishop Cranmer and the Bishops in King Edward's days, why might not they as well as Austin the Monk, compare the Rituals of the Church of Rome with other more ancient Forms, and gather together what they found most Pious, Religious, and Right, not loving things for the sake of a place
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(whether Rome or Sarum) but loving places rather for the sake of good things.

So that in this we have on our side the decision of a Pope, who was both more learned and more pious than any of all his Successors; but this is not the only particular in which they will decline to be tried by his Judgment.

And in the changes that were made, it is very clear that our Reformers did not design to throw out every thing that was in the Roman Rituals right or wrong; but made all the good use that was possible of the Forms that were then received in the Western Church; and in this our Church followed our Saviours method, who though he had the fulness of the Godhead dwelling in him, and was to Antiquate the Jewish Religion, and to substitute his more Divine Precepts to those of Moses; Yet he did accommodate his Institutions as near as could be, to the Customs of the Jews, not only in lesser matters, but even in those two great Sacraments by which his Church is knit together (as hath been fully made out by many learned Writers.) If then the Customs of a Religion that was ready to perish, were made use of, and by new and more sacred Benedictions were consecrated to higher ends; Our Church shewed her Prudence and Moderation, in not destroying Root and Branch, but reserving such things as were good, and by being cleansed from some Excrescencies might prove still of excellent use. This though it has given some colour to many peevish complaints, yet is that in which we have cause still to glory.

This care and caution does eminently appear in our Ordinal, the Ceremonies which were invented by the latter Ages we laid aside, the more Ancient and Apostolical are retained. And for the formal words used in the Imposition of Hands, though the saying Receive the Holy Ghost was a latter addition without any Ancient Authority; yet because this comes nearer the practice of our Saviour, it was retained as the form of giving Orders. For since it is confessed on all hands that the Form of Orders is in the power of the Church, we had good reason to prefer that which our Blessed Saviour made use of to any other, and it had been a sullen and childish peevishness to have changed this, because it was used in the Church of Rome. So that I cannot imagine what should move them to shew so much dislike to our Forms, except it be the old Quarrel of hating them, because they are better and their own are worse; and so because their deeds are evil they envy and revile us.

In this whole matter we are willing to be tried both by the Scrip-

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tures and the first eight Ages, even of the Roman Church, by the Greek Church to this day, and by the Doctrine that is most commonly received even in their own Church.

There is but one Objection that may seem to have any force in it, which can be made from the practices of the Primitive Church against the Ordinations in this Church, which is, that we have not the inferior degrees of *Subdeacons, Acolyths, Exorcists, Readers and Porters* in our Church; and indeed if the Popes Infallibility be well proved, this will be of force sufficient to invalidate our Orders. The case of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople, is well known, whom Pope Nicolaus denied to be lawfully Ordained, because he was suddenly raised up from being a Lay-man to be made a Patriarch, and though he passed through the Ecclesiastical Degrees, yet that was not thought sufficient by that Pope, who certainly would have been more severe to us who have none of these Degrees among us.

But these Orders cannot be looked on as either of Divine or Apostolical Institution, the Scripture mentions them not, St. Clemens, St. Ignatius, and St. Polycarp, say nothing of them, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, are as silent about them; so that, till the third Century we find no footsteps of them, the first mention that is made of them is in the Canons and Constitutions called Apostolical (of whose Antiquity I shall now say nothing.) In the Canons mention is oft made of the rest of the Clergy, as distinct from Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and particularly they mention Readers, Subdeacons, and Singers. In the Constitutions there are Rules given about the Ordination of Subdeacons and Readers. And though there is mention made of Exorcists, yet it is plainly said there, that they were not Ordained, but were believed to have that power over Spirits by a free gift of God, and that they were then Ordained when they were made Bishops and Priests. Firmilian who lived in the midst of the third Century, speaks of Exorcists, but it does not appear from his words, if they were a distinct or an inferior Order of Churchmen, and they may be well enough understood of such as had an extraordinary power over Spirits. Yet in the beginning of the fourth Century we find in the Greek Church more inferior Orders, for the Council of Laodicea reckons up Servants (who it is like were Acolyths) Readers, Singers, Exorcists, Porters, and Ἀσκηταί, who were it seems, Monks, or some persons that were employed in servile works, such as the diggers of Graves. And by the Council of Antioch the Chorepiscopi

Can. 42.

Lib. 8. cap. 21.
and 23.

Cap. 26.

Inter Epi.
Cypr. Ep. 75.

Can. 64.

Can. 10.

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copi might Ordain Subdeacons, Readers, and Exorcists. And if the Epistle to the Church of Antioch, said to be written by Ignatius, was forged in the same Century, by it it appears that there were then in the Greek Church Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, Porters, and Exorcists, for all these are saluted in that Epistle, from which it appears that all these Orders were then in the Church of Antioch.

But there is no small difficulty about these Orders in the Greek Churches, for in all their Rituals we find no inferior Orders but Subdeacons, and Readers, to whom in some Churches they have added Singers; upon which it is that Morinus confidently pronounces there were never any other inferior Orders in the Greek Church, but these two; but it does not appear that he had considered well those Canons of Laodicea and Antioch which mention other Orders. Abraham Ecchellensis, according to his usual way of flattering the Court of Rome in all his Writings, is not a little puzzled with this, he confesses that in the Greek Church they have no other inferior Orders but Subdeacons and Readers, but says, some thought those other lower degrees were included in the Order of Readers, but he thinks they were included in the Subdeacons Orders, and strains all the wit he had to give some colours for this conceit of his. In sum it is clear, Exorcists were an inferior Office in the Greek Church once, and afterwards it was laid aside. It were an impertinent digression here to give an account of their Office: but in a word they were Catechists, who prepared the Catechumens for Baptism; and by the Catechisms in the Church, all that came from Heathenism to be Christians were often adjured to renounce the Devil and all Heathenish Idolatry. Which Adjurations were call'd Exorcisms, and from these the Catechists were called Exorcists: of which he that desires further satisfaction may be directed to it by what he will find in the Margin. But when, or upon what occasion this Office fell in disuse in the Greek Church, does not appear. I shall only suggest that it is reasonable to conclude, that upon the general suppression of Heathenism in the Greek Empire, when there were no more Catechumens, there being no further use of Exorcists the Function was no longer continued. It appears likewise from the Name Acolyth, that it was begun in the Greek Church, from whence it is probable, the Latin Church had that Order.

Not. 18. in
Can. Nich.
Arab.

See Nazianz.
Orat. in Bapt.
Cyr. Pref. ad
Catech. Bal-
sam. in Schol.
in Con. Laod.
& Ant.
Harmen in
Con. Antioch.

In the Latin Church St. Cyprian is the first that speaks of these

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these Inferior Orders, and we find them frequently mentioned in his
a Ep. 24. & 21. Epistles, he speaks of (a) Subdeacons, (b) Acolyths, (c) Readers,
b Ep. 28. and (d) Exorcists, and contemporary with him was Cornelius, who
c Ep. 24. 33. & 34. (e) giving an account of the Clergy of Rome, says there were forty six
d Ep. 75. Priests, seven Deacons, forty two Acolyths, fifty Exorcists, Rea-
e Apud. Euf. ders, and Porters. So it seems, there were no Subdeacons then in
lib. 6. cap. 43. Rome, nor does St. Cyprian mention the Porters. So that in that
Grat. dist. 77. Century all these Orders were not looked on as necessary in the Western
cap. 1. & 2. Church, much less was there a certain number of years determined for
every one of them, as was afterwards done by the Popes, who appointed
that before any might be made a Priest, he should be five years a Rea-
der and Exorcist, and fourteen years an Acolyth and Subdeacon.
In the fourth Council of Carthage we have the full Catalogue of the
sacred Functions (as they are called in the Apostolical Canons) with
the rules and forms of Ordaining them, and there (a) Subdeacons,
(b) Acolyths, (c) Exorcists, (d) Readers, (e) Porters, and (f)
Singers, are set down.
Can. 14. & 62. But besides these we find another Order of Fossarii, or the diggers
a Can. 5. of Graves, mentioned by St. Jerome, who calls them the first Or-
b Can. 5. der of the Clergy; they are also mentioned in that supposititious Let-
c Can. 7. ter of St. Ignatius to the Church of Antioch, and are spoken of
d Can. 8. by Epiphanius, by which it appears they were reckoned among the
e Can. 9. Clergy both in the Greek and Latin Churches. But there is no
f Can. 10. mention of them in any latter Writers. We find mention of ano-
ther office in an Author, to whom indeed little credit is due, who are
called the Keepers of the Martyrs, who had the keeping of the
Vault or Burying-place, where the Martyrs bodies were laid up in
those Churches that were built to their Honour, but we meet with
these no where else. And though the Order of Singers continued for
several Ages in the Western Church, and is mentioned by most of the
Writers on the Roman Rituals in Hittorpius his Collection, and also
in the Ordo Romanus, yet is now left out in the Roman Pontifical.

*Vic. Pontif. in
vita Silvestri.*

From all which it appears, that there was no settled Order agreed on
or received in the Catholick Church about these Inferior Degrees;
some of them that were received in some Churches were not in other
Churches, and what was generally received in one Age was laid aside
in another, and therefore there is no Obligation lying on us to continue
those still.

But as the number of these Orders was different, so the ways of
Ordaining were not the same. In the Eastern Church they were
(and

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(and are to this day) conferred by *Imposition of Hands*, which was perhaps taken from the custom of the Jews among whom all Offices were given with that Rite. But in the Western Church they were conferred by the delivery of a Book, Vessel, or Instrument that related to their Function, which perhaps was taken from the Roman Custom of granting Offices by the Tradition of somewhat that belonged to it, as Trajan made the Prefects by giving them a Sword.

The occasion of setting up all these Inferior Offices was certainly very just and good, that there might be taken in them a long and full probation of all such as were to be admitted to the Offices that were of Divine Institution, and so none might be admitted to any of them before there had been a full trial and discovery made of their merit and good behaviour, and were indeed like degrees in Universities. But after that Constantine granted such Immunities and Exemptions to Churchmen, then it is probable that many who desired to share in these, and yet had no mind to be Initiated in the Offices of Divine Appointment, came and entered in these lower degrees: to regulate which, Justinian made a Law that none who had been Soldiers or had any Offices about their Courts (*Curiales* and *obstricti curiæ*) might be Ordained, till they had got their Dimission and had been fifteen years in a Monastery; and perhaps some of these offices were laid aside, because of the complaints the Prefects made of the Interruption of Justice by the great numbers of the Clergy, who pleaded the Exemptions that were granted to them.

Nove. 123.
cap. 15.
Grat. L. i. c. 53.

Upon the whole matter it is clear that all these Orders were only of Ecclesiastical Institution. So that the want of them cannot be charged on our Church as an essential defect, and our Church had as good Authority to lay all these aside, as other Churches had to lay down sometimes one, sometimes more of them. And in the Church of Rome, though these are still kept up, yet all except the Subdeacons are merely for Forms sake, for Acolyths, Exorcists, Readers, or Porters, never discharge any part of the Service that belongs to their Office, and the Exorcisms are quite taken out of the hands of the Exorcists, and are made only by Priests. So that this whole Objection comes to nothing.

But we have much more material Objections against the Church of Rome upon this head. For whereas by Divine Institution and the practice of the Primitive Church, all Bishops were equal both in Order and Jurisdiction. They have robbed the Bishops of the greatest part of their Jurisdiction; of which I shall give some Instances.

Monks

Cap. 4.
Con. Agath.
can. 37, 38.
Con. Aurel.
can. 19.

An. 659.
An. 664.

Monks by their Original were Laymen, and were under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Diocese, this at first was not so much as disputed; but when they grew insolent and factious, it was declared by the General Council of Chalcedon that they were and ought to be subject to their Bishops, and so it continues in the Greek Church to this day. The same was also decreed in some Western Councils, but when the Order of the Benedictines grew very considerable, and many persons of Quality retired into it, and it became a great piece of Religion to build and enrich Abbays; then the Founders moved their Kings to obtain Privileges for them from their Bishops; for the most ancient of these that I have met with, is the Exemption of the Abbey of St. Denis, granted by the Bishop of Paris; the next to that is the exemption of the Abbey of Corbie, granted by the Bishop of Amiens, which Presidents were soon followed by a great many others. By these Grants the Bishops did renounce their share of the Revenues of the Abbey, of which, according to the Ancient Division, the fourth part did belong to the Bishop: and for the further quiet of those Religious Houses, the Bishops did exempt them from all Visitations, and gave up the power they had over them wholly to the Abbot; and these exemptions, which at first were only for the Monasteries, were afterwards extended further to all the Lands and Churches that belonged to the Abbays, of which some were exempted from the Visitations of the Arch-Deacons, and the Bishops Vicars; others were also exempted from the Bishops visiting in person.

But the Popes from the 8th. Century downwards, finding how much Abbays were enriched, and it being a grateful thing in all places, to favour the Monks, they granted them fuller and larger Privileges, they gave many Abbots a right to a Miter and a Staff, and declared them Prelates. And the truth of it was, the secular Clergy were for the most part both so ignorant and so corrupt, that it was no wonder if all the World favoured the Monks, whose vices being committed within their Cloysters, were not so notorious, and did not occasion so much scandal as these disorders of the Clergy did, which were more publick. And the very name Religious or Regular, which the Monks took to themselves, and the name Secular, with which they loaded the Clergy, did them great service; for in ignorant Ages specious Titles and ill sounding Names affect the Vulgar mightily. And the Monks of the Order of St. Austin being also possessors of most of the Prebends, from whence they

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they were called Canons Regular, those Chapters had exempted Jurisdictions given them. From hence sprung all the peculiar Exemptions that are among us, for in the suppressing of the Monasteries, the Bishops were not fully restored to their ancient Jurisdiction; so that those Exemptions do still continue, from whence the most scandalous disorders in our Clergy have risen. So much are they mistaken who complain of the Episcopal Jurisdiction, since the foulest Enormities among us flow from the want of it, and from a Corruption brought in by the Popes, which is not yet sufficiently purged out.

These Monasteries were so many separated and independent Congregations which did chuse their own Pastors, and this only difference in the point of Government, is between our Modern Independents, and them; that these will depend on none in the rules of their Policy, but upon Christ alone, without acknowledging any superior Jurisdiction or Subordination, and those did depend on Christ's Vicar, without submitting to any other Authority.

But the Popes designing to subject the Episcopal Authority wholly to themselves, used another Method toward that end, which was to raise the Dignity of the Abbots very high, and whereas by the Primitive (a) Canons three Bishops were to concur in the Consecration of a Bishop, the Popes brought in a custom of allowing two Mitred Abbots to assist a Bishop in those Consecrations, which is acknowledged both by (b) Binnius and (c) Bellarmine. And this with the Title Prelate, and the use of the Miter and the Pastoral Staff, raised them to an equality with the Bishops.

This was not all, they were next brought to sit in General Councils. Originally Abbots were but Laymen, but now they must all be Priests; yet it was never before heard of, that Priests did sit in Oecumenical Councils. It is true, the Rural-Bishops (or Chorepiscopi) did subscribe the Canons of the Council of Nice and other General Councils; but whatever Morinus and some others have said, to prove that they were no more than Priests, yet if it were not an impertinent Digression, I think it could be easily made appear that they were Bishops; so that it is most certain that no Priests did subscribe and sit in General Councils for many Ages in their own Names, for what they did by Proxy from their Bishops, has no relation to this matter. But when the Popes were setting up their Monarchy in the West, they resolved to ballance the Votes of the Bishops by bringing in Abbots to vote in their General Councils, who were obliged by their Interest to support the Exaltation of the

4 Can. 1.
Apost. Con.
Nic. can. 4.
Con. Arel. 1.
can. 21. Arel.
2. can. 5.
Carth. 2 Can.
12. See Grat.
Dist. 64.
b In Can. 1 A-
post.
c Bell. de no-
tis Eccl. lib.
4. cap. 8.

C

Papal

Papal power, and suppressing of Episcopal Jurisdiction.

An. 1123.

Tom. Con. 10.
pag. 893.

Tom. Con. 11.
par. 1. pag.
127.

An 1311.

Tom. Con. 11.
par. 2. pag.
1550.

In the first general Council that was held by Calistus the second, in the Lateran, Sugerius, who was present, says, there were 300 and more Bishops, but Pandulphus says, there were present 997. partly Bishops, partly Abbots; so that above 600 of these must have been Abbots. In the third Council of Lateran we hear of none but Bishops, but to make amends for that, the Writs that summoned the fourth Council of Lateran, were sent to Abbots as well as to Bishops, and a vast number of them came. The Writs for the second Council of Lions, were issued out, not only to Abbots, but to inferior Prelates by Pope Gregory the Tenth, and Aquinas and Bonaventure, being then in great esteem, were also called to that Council, though they were only Friars. But Pope Clement the fifth took care to have a full Assembly, when he called the General Council at Vienna, for the Writs were not only to Patriarchs, Primates, Metropolitans, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and Abbots, as had been done before, but to all Priors, Deans, Provosts, Archdeacons, Archpriests, and all other Prelates of Monasteries and Churches exempted, and non-exempted. And thus the Popes were sure to carry things in such Assemblies as they pleased. And it is no unpleasant thing to observe what were the Contests between the Popes and the Bishops, which are plainly the same, and have been managed by the same Arts and Intrigues, that the Contests in Political matters between Prerogative and Privilege have been. For near five Ages the matter was contested by the Prelates, but the power of the Abbots, and the other exemptions of the Deans and Chapters did much weaken the Bishops Authority, and the Secular Princes did joyn with the Popes to bear down the Bishops, who having great Revenues, did generally joyn with the People for the asserting of publick Liberty. But the Popes gave them up as Sacrifices to their Princes, till they forced them afterwards to seek to them for shelter from the severity of their Princes, and then the Tables were turned.

All this was not a little set forward by the credit which the begging Friars got every where in the 13th. Century, for the Monks were then become as scandalous as the Secular Clergy had ever been, and were generally very ignorant; so that they could not serve the ends of the Papacy any more, but the austere lives of the Franciscans, their poverty and coarse Garments girt about with Ropes, their bare Legs and seeming Humility gained them great esteem; and the Zealous Dominicans, whose course of life was not so severe, yet were as poor, and preached much;
and

A. 1214.

An. 1209.

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and Aquinas, Scotus, and Bonaventure, brought in among the Friars the learning of the Schools, which was then in great esteem in the World, all which concurred to dispose the People to receive them with great Veneration. These were also employed by the Popes every where, and were also exempted from Episcopal Visitation, and had privileges to build Churches, and Seminaries, to Preach, hear Confessions, and Administer the Sacraments every where, and by these means the Episcopal Jurisdiction was quite overthrown, and the Papacy became absolute, and those Orders of Mendicant Friars were clearly a Presbytery, they being a company of Priests that acknowledged no Episcopal Jurisdiction over them, and their Great Chapter was their General Assembly, and their Annual, or Triennial Generals and Provincials, who are chosen by them, were like the elected Moderators of Provincial and National Assemblies. In this only did that Presbytery differ from the Geneva Form, that it was subject only to Christ's pretended Vicar, the other claims to be only subordinate to Christ himself, but both did equally rebel against their Bishops. Yet the Schism of the Papacy had almost overturned all, for the Bishops met in a General Council at Constance (I call all those Councils General, according to the style of the Church of Rome, for I know there was not a Council truly General among them all) and there they thought to retrieve their Authority, and to be quit with the Popes for bringing in Abbots and other inferior Prelates, they brought in Deputies from Universities, to sit and judge with them, and they thought they had made sure work of all by their Acts, that regulated the Popes Election, restrained his power, subjected him to the judgment of a General Council, and above all, by their Act for a Decennial General Council, with such provisions in it, that one would think the Act for Triennial Parliaments was copied from that Original: But alas, all this proved to no purpose, for as Æneas Sylvius wisely said, that since all Preferments were given by the Pope, and none by the Council, he must certainly have the better of it at long run, which as it made himself turn about, so it brought off many more; and at length the Pope became Master of all, and at the Council of Florence the Generals of Orders were brought in to have Votes there.

There was another great Engine also made use of, by which all the rules of the Primitive Church was overturned, which was the Popes assuming a power to hear, and judge all causes originally. All that the Popes pretended to for many Ages was to be the highest Tribunal to which the last

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Appeal did lie. And this was not only never yielded to by the Eastern Churches, but even the African Churches, though a part of the Latin Church, would never submit to it, and yet the receiving an Appeal had a very favourable Plea, that a person who had been oppressed by a faction, perhaps in his own Countrey, might find relief and protection elsewhere: But after the eighth Century, and that the forged and now universally acknowledged spurious Decretals were received, they set up a new pretention of Judging Causes Originally, taking matters out of the hands of the Judge Ordinary, and bringing the Cognizance of them to Rome, and setting up many reserved Cases which could only be judged by the Pope; and the Canonists that were a servile sort of people, who wrote chiefly for Preferment, did upon all occasions find new Distinctions for enlarging the Popes power. But because it was intolerable, tedious and expensive to carry all such matters to Rome; therefore that it might not be too heavy a burden to the World, Legantine Courts were every where set up, where all those Tryals were made. By all these ways were the Primitive Rules broken, and such a confusion was brought in upon all Ecclesiastical Offices, that no Ancient Land-mark or Boundary was thought so sacred, that they did not either leap over or change it. I will not enlarge further on this Subject, and having already transfereſſed the bounds of a Preface, I will not lay open the other Violations of the Sacred Offices at the full length, but as the value of every thing is no less prejudiced by exalting it too high, than by depressing it too much, for a string over-bended must crack; So the Popes did as much wrong these Functions by exalting them out of measure, as they had done by encroaching so far upon them. And this was done by the Croissades, Indulgences, Priviledged Places, Jubilees and Redemption from Purgatory, with other things of that nature, which the Monks and Friars did every where preach and proclaim; these things did savour of Interest so palpably, that it was no wonder if most people were so alienated from them, that the first Reformers found all persons disposed to forsake the Communion of a Church that had so long deceived them by such gross Impositions.

Many had groaned long under all these Corruptions, and of such the greater part received the Reformation, others hoping to have got things brought about to a better pass, continued still in that Communion; but how little either Erasmus, Vicellius, Cassander, or many more such could prevail, the event

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event shewed; for in the Council of Trent (which was not obtained, but after many years sue; frequent Addresses not without threatenings, at length extorting it) how little could be carried appears even from Cardinal Pallavicini's own History, two grand points, upon which the Bishops that had honest designs, intended to raise the Reformation of Discipline and Manners were the declaring the Episcopal Jurisdictions to be of Divine Right; and that the Resistance of all Ecclesiastical Incumbents, was also of Divine Right, but these could not be carried. Lainez the General of the Jesuits, and the whole Court Party, appearing with great Vehemence against the first of these, asserting that all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was wholly and only in the Pope. And from this one thing it may appear how little Justice or fair-dealing was to be expected from that Council, towards those whom they called Hereticks, when the Bishops themselves being Judges, in a thing in which they were also Parties, I mean about the Divine Right of their own Jurisdiction, they could not carry it, for it was never heard of before, that where one was both Judge and Party, he was cast. And in the other trifling Reformations that were Enacted there, what care was taken by Distinctions and Reservations, chiefly that grand and General one of Saving the Dignity of the Apostolical See, to leave a door open by which those very Corruptions which they seemed to condemn and cast out, might be again taken up as most of them have been since. So that the issue of that Assembly was to establish the Papal Authority, to cut off all possible hopes of abating an ace of the errors of that Church (when all controverted points were turned to Articles of Faith, and the contrary Opinions condemned by Anathematisms) to discover how impossible it is to get the Abuses of that Church effectually Reformed; and in fine, to cure all people of their expectations of any great good from such meetings for the future; and this has since appeared very visibly. For as it is not to be expected that the Popes should call any General Councils, *ex motu proprio*; so no Christian Princes have thought it worth the while to solicit that Courts for a new Council.

And thus I have hinted at several particulars from which it may appear how much the Church of Rome has confounded those holy Functions, how she has robbed some of them of the power and Jurisdiction which they have from Christ, and has put a power in the hands of others which they never had from Christ. And if

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if the vigour of Ecclesiastical Discipline is not set up among us as it ought to be, we owe it for the greatest part to those Corruptions which they brought in, and being once received, are not easily to be rooted out of the minds of the people.

But to a great many all that can be said of the disorders that have been brought in or kept up in that Church by the Popes, will seem slight and of no force: for they will plainly tell us, that they do not all believe the Pope is Infallible, but are satisfied there are many things done by him that are amiss, and need to be amended: they only adhere to the Catholick Church, to whose definitions and decrees they submit and resign themselves: and yet no body writes more sharply against the Reformation and the Protestant Churches than these men do, charging them with Heresie and Schism, and every thing that is hateful to mankind. This way of writing was begun in the Sorbon, and never more pompously than at this time, by the Writers of the Port-Royal, and has been taken up here by some whom their adversaries call Blackcloists, who speak almost with equal indignation of the Court of Rome, and the Reformation. This I know works great effects on some, and has a very specious appearance; therefore I hope the Reader will pardon me if I hold him yet a little longer in the Preface, to unmask this pretension of some which otherwise may impose upon him.

I shall then make it appear that the maintainers of these principles must either be men of no Conscience at all, and such as stick not at mocking both God and Man, at Perjury and the foulest kind of Equivocation; or if they be true to these Principles, they must on many occasions do the same things for which they condemn us, and count us Hereticks and Schismatics. And this I shall instance in three things which are of the greatest consequence to a Church, namely, Doctrine, Worship, and Government.

For the first of these, When the Pope makes a decision in any controverted point, if I do not think him infallible, I retain still my own freedom to judge as I am convinced, and so I may perchance be of another mind; but if the Pope will have all Church-men, or all Bishops (as was lately done in the case of the five Propositions of Janfenius) to condemn the contrary Opinions, or subscribe Formularies about it; they must either do what is commanded, and so act against their Conscience, Equivocate and be perjured: or if they do it not, they must be proceeded against,
first

first for contempt and contumacy, and next for Heresie; and then they shall be Hereticks as well as we are: And if in one point a Man reserves his private sentiments, notwithstanding the Popes decision, why not in a great many; and if it be no fault to have different opinions, then, since a mans actions must be governed by his persuasions, it will be no fault to maintain and teach them, if they be of great importance, at least it is a great sin to renounce and deny them. Therefore if Pope Leo the X. was not Infallible, Luther was no Heretick, though condemned by him, especially a great many of the Articles for which he was condemned, having never been decided by any of their pretended General Councils: Nor do these men think that the present practice of the Church is a forcible Argument, for those of the Port-Royal have both complained of it, and studied to change it in the matter of Penance and Absolution; so that it will not be easie, nay not possible for them to prove, that Luther was a Heretick, since he was never condemned by any Infallible power; Therefore it is not the Authority of the Condemnation, but the Merit of the Cause, that makes one a Heretick, which is what we plead for. From which it is evident, that, let the Pope decree what he will, all of that Communion must either acquiesce in it, or they shall become Hereticks, This to such as believe the Pope is Infallible, is no matter of difficulty, for if I be once perswaded of that, all his decisions do captivate my Reason, but if I am not, I must either subdue my Conscience to my Interest, or be that Monster which is called an Heretick.

It is true, both Civil and Ecclesiastical Government punishes all obstinate and refractory persons, who stand out against publick conclusions, but still the Subject, if these Laws be Injust, has a clear Conscience amidst his sufferings; therefore this is not parallel to their Doctrine, who make all that comply not with their Decisions, Hereticks, which is a matter of great guilt before God. Let them give an Argument that will make a Protestant a Heretick, which will not infer the same against a Jansenist. And if they go to the Merits of the Cause, it is a tryal we have never declined. So till these men learn to try all their reasonings together, there is no great account to be made of them.

The second particular in which I shall shew the fallaciousness of these mens Reasonings, is in the matter of Divine Worship, which of how great consequence it is, needs not be made out,

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it must be a sin of a high nature, either to prophane the name of God by any piece of Worship which I judge sinful, or to use any Devotions about which I am not at all, or at least not fully perswaded. Now the whole Worship of their Church coming Originally and only from the Popes, who have given Authority to what Offices they will, have made Saints and added devotions to them as they pleased; All persons in that Communion must either by a blind resignation accept of every thing in their Worship which the Pope imposes, believing him Infalible; or if they are not of that perswasion, but give themselves leave to examine the Offices, whether they do it by the Scriptures, the Fathers and Tradition, or by the Rules of Reason, they must needs see there are many unjustifiable things in their Offices, many Saints are in the Breviary, about whose Canonization they are not at all assured: And in a word, one shall not speak with one of these Principles, but they will acknowledge there is great need of Reforming their Offices; Yet they must worship God according to them, as they are, otherwise they are Schismaticks, and fall under that same condemnation, for which they are so severe upon us.

Therefore it must either be the Merits of the Cause that makes a Schismatick, or if a Condemnation for separating from Authorised Offices does it, then they must resolve to be guilty of it, or worship God, contrary to their Consciences: They have no rules for their Offices, but the Popes pleasure, for Councils never made any; and indeed it is the most unreasonable thing that can be, to put the direction of the whole worship of God in one Man, or a succession of Mens power, unless they be believed Infalible.

The last thing I shall mention to shew how unreasonable they are who deny the Popes Infalibility, and yet condemn the Reformation so severely, is in the point of Government, which though it be not of so high, nor so universal a Nature as the two former are; yet it must be acknowledged to be of great Importance. And that the Prelates of that Church are fast tied to the Pope, without any Reserve or Exceptions, unless it be that (of saving my Order) the sense whereof is not fully understood, will appear from the Oath they make to the Pope before they are Ordained: From the consideration of which it was that King Henry the Eighth laid it out to his Parliament that they were but half his Subjects, and by the Oath then taken by the Bishops of England, as is set down

See pag. 176.

Hall fol. 205.

down by Hall; it appears that since that time there are very considerable Additions made to that Oath, which any that will compare them together, will easily discern.

If men make Conscience of an Oath, they must be in a very hard condition that believe the Pope to be Infallible, and yet are so bound to him by such a Bond. If the Superior be Infallible, the Subject may without any trouble in his Conscience, swear Obedience in any terms that can be conceived. But when the Superior is believed subject to error and mistake, then their swallow must be very large that can swear to preserve, defend, increase, and promote the Rights, Honours, Privileges, and Authority of the Holy Roman Church of our Lord the Pope, and his Successors aforesaid--- The Decrees, Orders, or Appointments, Reservations, Provisions, or Mandates Apostolical; I shall observe with all my strength, and make them to be observed by others---And I shall according to my power, persecute and oppose all Hereticks, Schismaticks, and Rebels, against the said our Lord and his Successors---And I shall humbly receive, and diligently execute Apostolical Commands.

Which words being full, and without those necessary and just reserves of the Obedience promised to Ecclesiastical Superiors, in all things Lawful and Honest, all the Prelates of the Roman Communion are as fast tied to the Pope, as if they believed him Infallible; for if they believed him such, they could be tied to nothing more than absolute and unlimited Obedience. Therefore they are in so much a worse estate than others be, which hold that opinion, because they have the same Obligation bound upon them by Oath. And let the Pope Command what he will, they must either obey him, or confess themselves guilty of breach of Oath and Perjury. And I hope the Reader will observe what mercy, all, whom they account Hereticks, Schismaticks, and Rebels, against their Lord the Pope, are to expect at their hands, who make their Bishops swear to persecute all such according to their power; so that we may by this be abundantly satisfied of their good Intentions and Inclinations, when ever it shall be in their power to fulfil the Contents of this Oath; for let any of them speak ever so softly or gently, if he comes to be Consecrated a Bishop, he must either be perjured, or turn a persecuter of all Protestants, who are in their opinion the worst sort of Hereticks and Schismaticks.

And certainly it is much more reasonable to calculate what in reason

son we ought to expect from the Prelates of that Church, if ever our sins provoke God to deliver us over to their Tyranny, from the Oath they swear at their Consecration, than from all the meek and good-natured words with which they now study to abuse some among us, which is so common an Artifice of all who aspire to Power and Government, that one might think the trick should be tried no more; but some love to be cheated a hundred times over.

From these Instances it is apparent, that the Pope has every whit as much Authority in that Church, and over all in it, as if he were believed Infallible, since both the Doctrine, Worship, and Government of their Church are determined by him, to whose award all must not only submit, but be concluded by it in their Subscriptions, Worship, and other practices.

So that the opinion of the Popes being fallible, gives such persons no ease nor freedom (except it be to their secret thoughts) but brings them under endless scruples and perplexities by the Obligations and Oaths that are imposed upon them, which bind them to a further obedience and compliance then is consistent with a fallible Authority.

And therefore their Principles being so incoherent that they cannot maintain both their charge against us of Heresie and Schism, and their opinion of the Popes Fallibility, and keep a good Conscience withal. There is one of three things to be expected from men of that principle, either that they shall quite throw off the Popes Tyrannical Yoke, and assert their own liberty, reserving still their other Opinions, as was done in the days of King Henry the Eighth, or that they shall join in Communion with us, or that they shall continue as they are complying with every thing imposed on them by the Court of Rome, preferring policy to a good Conscience, studying by frivolous Distinctions to reconcile these Compliances with their Principles, which any man easily see are Inconsistent.

That those of the Port Royal have done the last, is laid to their charge, both by Calvinists and Jesuits; and as I am credibly informed by some of their own number, who do complain of their subscribing Formularies, and every thing else sent from Rome, which they have opposed as long as they could; but when the Court of Rome gets their Conquering King on their side, so that they cannot withstand no longer unless they will suffer for their Conscience, then they subscribe as formally and fully as others do. And this Compliance is to be looked for from all the Men of those Principles, if they do

do not prefer their Conscience to their Interest ; and God knows there be many such , for either they must comply *tho* against their Conscience, or retire themselves from that Communion ; and if they do this last, then all that they accuse us for, and all those common Topicks with which they ply the *Vulgar*, against separating from the Catholick Church, the setting up of private Judgment against publick, the multiplying new Errors by appealing to Scriptures, or other Books, which is the way of all Hereticks: These I say, with many more of the like nature, will all fall as heavily upon themselves.

Nor is there any reason to think they will throw off the Pope, as was done under King Henry the 8th. for though a great and high spirited King was able to bring that about ; yet is it possible that a few Priests, though they had the honesty and boldness to design such a thing, could ever compass it: Their followers would look upon them, if they should but set about it, as Hereticks, and hate them no less (if not more) than they do us ; so that it seems a weak and too sanguine an Imagination, to think such a design can ever come to any thing: Therefore these persons must either turn over quite to the Intrigues of the Court of Rome (with what Conscience let them see to it) or joyn themselves to us.

And of this last there is no great cause to have any hope, since we see none Write more bitterly against us than they do, as if they would thereby redeem their credit, either with the Court of Rome, or with their party here, who being possess'd with some suspicions of them, they to clear these, use the common shift of railing foully at those, with whom it is insinuated they have some correspondence. This stile Mr. Arnaud has thought fit to Write in more than any Body, which was the more unseemly in him considering both his Noble Education, and his other excellent and gentle Qualities ; and indeed I am heartily glad to find he grows ashamed, and out of love with that way of Writing, in which none has more grossly exceeded all the bounds of Moderation than he has done.

They having declared themselves so fully and formally concerning the Reformation, there is no reason to expect they should ever joyn with us, and they are neither so numerous nor so considerable, as to be able to form themselves into a Society distinct from Rome. Therefore what is to be looked for from them, but that for the most part shall herd in with the rest, and comply even against their Consciences, with all the corruptions of the Papacy. And as a Noble

and Ingenious person said, *The long Whip of Rome must bring in all these Stragglers; and if two or three will stand out and lie under their Censures, they shall have little credit, and small interest with their own party. So that there is nothing to be expected from any thing they can do or signify.*

And therefore all the noise some make of the difference between the Court and Church of Rome, is only a pretty Notion, by which such as are speculative, and consider not the World, may be taken a little, but when they examine it further, they must see that it will be nothing in practice. The Interest, Favour, and Preferments, lie wholly the other way, and the greatest part is led by these; and such honest men as despise these, are either thought Fools or Knaves; some further design being suspected, as the reason of why they pursue not present Advantages. But Preferments being bountifully given by the Court of Rome to their creatures; others who are loaded with their Censures, can never be imagined so considerable, as either to have great Interest at home with their party (which being generally made up of Ignorance, and Zeal, hates those moderate men as Tamperers, and loves none so much as the thorough-paced Papist.) Much less can they ever have any power in the Seminaries and Nurseries beyond Sea: So that all that come over in the Mission shall be well leavened before they come among us, with the high Principles of the Court of Rome. Therefore I cannot apprehend any Advantage that can be reasonably looked for from the cherishing the men of those Principles, though I am very well satisfied some of them are honest men; but as they be very few who will openly own and stick to them, so I doubt not but if the owning these Maxims turned to a matter of Advantage, and ease, abundance that are not honest would pretend to be of the same persuasion. We see that generally (a few Instances only excepted) they join together in the same Intrigues and Designs, and why we should think it possible to draw off any considerable party from the rest, I see no reason; for as it were undoubtedly both wise and good to cherish any motions that might disjoin them one from another; so a few individual Persons, how deserving soever they may be, cannot be of that Importance, that for their sakes a Settlement should be altered, and colour given for a great many to deceive and abuse us.

And I freely acknowledge that the plain dealing Papists, who owns the Popes Infallibility and Absolute Authority, as he speaks, and acts most suitably to the other Principles of their Church, so is less to be suspected.

spected and feared, since he goes roundly to work, than others who speak more softly, and yet are in the same designs, and so may more safely and cunningly catch unwary persons, who either are not much on their guard, or are not well acquainted with their Artifices; but the other are more open and less dangerous.

It is now high time for me to quit this Digression, and to wind up a Preface that is already too long. I shall only, before I make an end, lay before the Reader, a few of the Arts of the Missionaries among us, in the dispersing their Papers and Books.

They write them with great confidence, and swell up the Arguments they offer, with the biggest words and severest expressions that are possible, which works mightily upon the Gentle Reader, for the modesty in Writing has great art in it to work upon an ingenuous mind; yet that to the weak and credulous, is a feeble and dispirited thing, and they are never so apt to believe any thing as when it is confidently averred with great Pomp and much Vehemence.

If their Books be well written, they want not Printing Presses neither beyond Sea nor in England, and we shall soon hear of them; if they find themselves so baffled (as they have been of late by some great Writers in this Church) that they cannot answer with any tolerable shew of Learning and Honesty, then they spread it about that there is an Answer ready, but the Visitors of the Press are so careful, that nothing can escape their diligence. But if either their Papers be too barefaced to be owned, or if they know them to be so weak that they dare not put them to a trial, then instead of Printing them, they Copy them out and give them about.

Of the former sort, the World has got a good Evidence in the Discourses lately published about the Oath of Allegiance, which they intended to whisper in corners, but are now proclaimed openly. Jesuites Loyalty.

And of the latter sort is the following Paper, which begins and ends with the highest confidence that is possible, but is so extremely defective in the point of Argument, that they did very wisely, not to adventure on publishing it. But they must write and do somewhat to keep Spirits in their party; and since the defending their own Church, has succeeded so ill with them, they do wisely to change the Scene, and carry in the War to our own Church, and make her the Scene of it, but they are as ill at attacking, as defending; and if we be but safe from their Mines, we need not fear their Batteries, but their under-ground work is a better game, and if they cannot waste us with Destruction,

Psal. 92. 5, 6.

on

on at Noon tide, nor make their Arrows fly by Day, then they study to infect us with a Pestilence that walketh in Darknes, and by secret Contrivances and Concealed Papers, to compass that which they know can never be brought about by fair dealings and avowed practices. But truth is great (and the God of truth is greater) and will prevail over the fraud of the Serpent, as well as the force of the Lion.

And if we study to adorn our Profession, and walk worthy of our Holy Calling, we need not fear our Cause, nor all the endeavours of those that study to defame us.

Without this the most laboured Apologies will not signifie much to support our Credit; for the World is more affected with lively Instances and great Examples, than with the most Learned Compositures. Every Man's Understanding is wrought on by the one, the other only prevail on considering and judicious persons. And any charge that is put in against the Pastors or Orders of a Church, will be but little regarded, when those that bear Office in it, chiefly in the highest degrees, are burning and shining Lights, few will then stumble or be shaken with any thing that can be said to Eclipse their brightness.

'Tis for the most part want of Merit in Churchmen, that recommends any Arguments that are levelled at their persons or functions, to the World. And though Malice, and Spite ferments with the more rage, the worthier the persons are against whom it works; yet all attempts must needs be, not only unsuccessful, but fall back with shame on the Authors, when all the World sees the Unjustice of them.

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ARGU.

ARGUMENTS

To Prove the *Invalidity* of the

O R D E R S

OF THE

Church of *E N G L A N D*.

FIRST then I prove that the Ministers of the Church of England are no Priests, through the defect of the Form of Ordination, which was this, pronounced to every one of them when they came to be Ordained: Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou forgivest they are forgiven, whose sins thou retainest, they are retained; and be thou a Faithful Dispenser of the Word of God, and his Holy Sacraments, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. After which the Bishop delivers a Bible to him, saying, Take thou Authority to Preach the Word, and Minister the Holy Sacraments, in the Congregation where thou shalt be so appointed.

And my first Reason is, Because this Form wants one essential part of Priesthood, which is to Consecrate the most Holy Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, giving only Power to Administer this Sacrament, which any Deacon may do. That to Consecrate and make present Christs Body and Blood is necessary, Dr. Bramhal, the Bishop of Derry, one of the chief Abettors of the Protestant Ordination, grants in his Book of the Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops, saying, The Form of words whereby men are made Priests, must express Power to Consecrate or make present.



sent Christs Body and Blood : *And a little after, They who are Ordained Priests ought to have Power to Consecrate Christs Body and Blood, that is, to make it present, page 226. which it is evident by the very terms themselves that this Form expresses, nor gives nor, having not one word expressing that Power which it cannot give without expressing it.*

Secondly, Because it wants another essential part, which is, to offer Sacrifice, which the Apostle requires, Heb. 5. 1. saying, Every High Priest taken from among men is Ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both Gifts and Sacrifice for sins. Even according to the Protestant Bible, and which cannot be meant only of Christ, as some Protestants would have it ; for in the 3. verse he says, And by reason hereof he ought as for the people, so also for himself to offer for sins : Whereas Christ had no sins of his own to offer for.

Thirdly, Because those words, Whose sins, &c. at most gave Power to forgive sins, and not to Consecrate and offer Sacrifice, having nothing to signifie that which is the chief Office of Priesthood.

Fourthly, Because none could Institute the Form of a Sacrament to give Grace and Power to make present the Body and Blood of Christ ; but the Author of Grace, and who had Power over that Sacred Body and Blood : But those that Instituted this Form, were neither Authors of Grace, nor had power over the Sacred Body and Blood : Therefore they could not Institute such a Form. That they who Instituted this Protestant Form had no such Power is proved by the Act of Parliament, the 3, 4 of Edward the VI. Cap.12. (which could not pretend to such a Power) in these words,

Forasmuch as to Concord and Unity to be had within the Kings Majesties Dominions, it is requisite to have one Uniform fashion and manner for making and Consecrating Bishops, Priests, &c. Be it therefore Enacted by the Kings Highness, with the Assents of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same (*mark by which Authority they are made*) that such Form and manner of making and Consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, &c. as by six Prelates and six other men of this Realm, learned in Gods Law by the Kings Majesty (*who was but a Child*) to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them shall be devised for that purpose, and

and set forth under the Great Seal of England, before the first day of April next coming, and shall by vertue of this present Act (*see what vertues*) be lawfully exercised, and used, and none other, any Statute, Law, or Usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. By authority whereof those Prelates, and men learned in the Law invented and made the Form before-mentioned, never heard of before either in Scripture or Church of God.

From which I thus argue and prove my Minor. They that instituted the Form were the King and Parliament, 3, 4 Edward VI. But that King and Parliament were neither Authors of Grace, nor had power over the Body and Blood of Christ: therefore they that Instituted this Form, were neither Authors of Grace, nor had power over the Body and Blood of Christ, nor consequently could make it present.

Fifthly, They are no Priests, because the Bishops that made them were no true Bishops, nor so much as Priests; and no man can give power to another which he hath not himself. That they were no true Bishops nor Priests who pretended to make these Priests (which shall be the second part of my Discourse) I prove thus. **PROTESTANT BISHOPS NO BISHOPS, NOR SO MUCH AS PRIESTS.**

First, They are no Priests, because made by the same Form which other English Ministers were, which I have clearly proved to be null.

That they are no true Bishops, I prove, first out of this very Principle already laid; because they are no true Priests; for as Master Marston, a chief Champion of theirs says, Epist. Ded. ad Episcop. Paris. Seeing he cannot be a Bishop who is not a Priest, if it can be proved we are no Priests, there's an end to our English Church. And the great Doctor of the Church St. Jerom, Dial. cum Lucifero, cap. 8. says. Ecclesia non est quæ non habet Sacerdotem, It is no Church that hath no Priests. The Protestant Bishops therefore being no Priests can be no true Bishops, nor the Church a Church at all.

Secondly, They are no Bishops, because their Form of Ordination is essentially invalid and null, seeing it cannot be valid, (no more than that of Priesthood) unless it be in fit words, which signifies the Order given; as Mr. Mason says in his Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, lib. 1. c. 16. in these terms, Not any words can serve for this Institution, but such as are fit to express the power of the Order given. And the reason is evident, because Ordination being a

Sacrament (as the same Author says, lib. 1. n. 8. And Doctor Bramhal, pag. 96. of the Consecration of Protestant Bishops) that is a visible sign of invisible Grace given by it. There must be some visible sign or words in the Form of it, to signify the Power given, and to determine the matter (which is the Imposition of hands, of it self a dumb sign, and common to Priests and Deacons, Confirming, Curing, &c.) to the Grace of Episcopal Order; otherwise it were sufficient to say at the Imposition of hands. Be thou a Constable, or God make thee an honest man. But there is no such visible sign or words in the Protestant Form, expressing this Episcopal Power given; therefore no such power is given. That there is no such sign or words in the Protestant Form, I prove out of the Form it self, which is this (made in King Edward the VI. time, and continued till the happy Restauration of his Majesty that now is) Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace of God that is in thee by Imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and of Love, and Soberness. In which is not any word signifying Episcopal Power or Ordination; and therefore for this defect in their Form they are no true Bishops.

Against what has been said you will object, first, That I prove them to be no Priests, because they are no Bishops that made them: and on the other side I prove them no Bishops, because they are no Priests; which is a vitious Circle. But I easily answer this, because I first prove à priori, that is, from the essential which ought to give being to each of them, that they are severally null; and each of them being null for that reason, it is evident, that it is a cause of Invalidity in the other, for as he can be no Bishop who is proved to be no Priest, so he can make no Priest, who is proved to be no Bishop.

Secondly, You will object and salve up all the Defects afore-mentioned in one word, to wit, That although the Form used in the Church of England were invalid in King Edward's, Queen Elizabeth's, King James's, and King Charles the First's time, for want of a valid Form of Ordination, yet now it is valid in our Sovereign King Charles the Second's, with whom the Parliament now sitting hath appointed a true Form: Enacting, that for the future, to wit, after St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662. the Form of Ordaining a Priest should be, Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office of a Priest: and of a Bishop, Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and work of a Bishop.

But:

But to this I'll answer you in another word, That the salve is worse than the sore; because by this change of the Form before established, they acknowledge it to be null; for why else need they change it. Secondly, By it they in effect acknowledge all their Bishops and Priests till that time to be null, because Ordained by a Form that was null, and could not give Power it had not, nor signified. Thirdly, Because being no Bishops already they cannot Ordain validly by any Form whatsoever; for no man can give what he has not, as has been said before.

Lastly, Whatsoever Power this Act gives to Ordain, is from the Parliament, and not from Christ; which is what I first undertook to shew, and destroys their Orders root and branch.

Now although the Bishops of the Church of England, and their Ministers grant this change of their Form of Ordination, yet if any one should deny it, you need only look upon the Form of making Bishops, and Priests, made 1558, and which was only used in the Church of England for an hundred years, to be found in every Book-sellers Shop, authorized and commanded in the Act of Uniformity, made 1662, to be only used to St. Bartholomew's Day of that Year; and that other Enacted to be only used from thenceforward, and Printed in the Common-Prayer-Books of Cathedral Churches, out of which I have found it hard to be got; the Bishops, as most think, suppressing it for shame, and leaving it only in those places where it was necessary to be made use of, and not permitting it to be otherwise dispersed abroad, although the Act of Uniformity which made it, commands upon forfeiture of 3 l. for every Month after St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662. that every Church, Chappel, Collegiate Church, College, and Hall should have a true printed Copy of it.

Thus I hope I have fully proved that the Church of England has no true Priest or Bishop for want of Ordination. Now I shall also shew that they have no Jurisdiction or Authority to Teach, Preach, exact Tythes, inflict Censures, to be Pastors, or to exercise any Ecclesiastical Function whatsoever from Christ, but only from the Parliament: and my third Conclusion is,

That Protestant Ministers and Bishops have no Power to Preach, &c. from Christ, but only from the Parliament.

This I prove, because they have no more Power than the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker had, who was the Chief, and from whom (as it were the Conduit of all) Jurisdiction was derived to the rest.

That he had no such Power or Jurisdiction I prove, first, because they that Confirmed and Consecrated him had no such Power to confer upon him of themselves, to wit.

William Barlow, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, now Elect of Chichester; John Scory, late of Chichester, now Elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, late of Exeter, and John Hodgskins Bishop Suffragan, who were none of them actual Bishops of any See, but two Elect only, and another quondam only, and so had no actual Jurisdiction at all, the fourth only Suffragan to Canterbury, and who had no Jurisdiction, but what he had from the Archbishop of Canterbury, much less Authority to give him Jurisdiction over himself, and all the Bishops in the Land, as the other three had no Power at all to give him, much less so transcendent an one, because none can give what he has not.

Secondly, Because they had their sole Power from the Queen, and she (besides the incapacity of her Sex) had no Power of her self, but only according to the Statutes in that case provided, as appears by her Letters Patent yet extant, and to be seen in the Rolls in these words, Elizabetha Regina, &c. Elizabeth Queen, &c. To the Reverend Father in Christ, William, &c. Whereas the Archi-episcopal See of Canterbury, being lately void by the natural death of my Lord Reginald Pool Cardinal, the late and immediate Archbishop and Pastor of it, at the humble Petition of the Dean and Chapter of our Cathedral and Metropolitan Church in Canterbury, called Christ's Church, we did by our Letters Patents grant License to them to choose to themselves another for Archbishop and Pastor of the See aforesaid, and they have chosen Matthew Parker, &c. We have given our Royal assent and favour to the said Election; and we signify this to you by the tenor of these presents, requiring, and by the fidelity and love wherein you are bound to us, firmly enjoyning, commanding you, that you, or four of you effectually, Confirm the said Matthew Parker, Archbishop and Pastor Elect of the said Church, and Confirm the said Election, and Consecrate him Archbishop and Pastor of the said Church, and do all other things which in this behalf are incumbent on your Pastoral Office, according to the Form of the Statutes in this case made and provided.

Out of which words, first, Inste that the Queen here, and all the Clergy with her, acknowledge Cardinal Pool the true and rightful Archbishop of Canterbury, by which they own Catholick Ordination and Jurisdiction to be valid, lawful, and good. Secondly,

Secondly, I note (and confirm the main assertion) That the Queen knowing the Common Law, and ancient Laws of the Kingdom, required the Authority, Consent, and Commission (or Bull) of the Pope, to impower the Confirmers and Consecrators of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the only Superior of that See; and withal that he would not grant and give it to make a Protestant Archbishop: she by her Supreme Authority, as Head of the Church of England, not only authorized them that were to Confirm and Consecrate him, but also (Pope-like) supplied all defects, whether in Quality, faculty, or any other thing wanting and necessary in the Consecrators for that performance by the Laws of the Church or Kingdom: for so it followed in the same Patent, Supplying nevertheless by our Supreme Regal Authority, if any thing in you, or any of you, or in your condition, state, or faculty, to the performance of the Premises is wanting of these things, that by the Statutes of our Realm, or the Ecclesiastical Laws in this behalf are requisite or necessary (which she therefore supposed and knew well enough to be necessary and wanting, for otherwise it had been in vain for her to supply them) the condition of the time and necessity of things requiring it.

By which you see they could do neither of these Acts of Confirming or Consecrating him Archbishop of Canterbury without her Commission, which was not only necessary to empower them, but also to dispense with them, and make their Acts valid non obstante, notwithstanding the Laws of the Land.

That these Letters Patents Authorized them is clear out of the Instrument of his Confirmation, to be seen in the Records at Lambeth in their own words following.

In the name of the Lord; Amen. We William Barlow, John Miles, &c. by the Queens Commissionall Letters specially and lawfully deputed Commissioners, &c. by the Supreme Authority of the Queen to us in this behalf committed, confirm the said Election of Matthew Parker, &c. supplying by the Supreme Authority of the Queen to us delegated, if any thing be wanting in us, or any of us, or in our Condition, State, or Faculty to the performance of the Premises of these things, that by the Statutes of the Realm, or the Ecclesiastical Laws in this behalf are requisite or necessary, &c. as above.

And whereas the Popes Commission (or Bull) used to be produced

ced, by authority of which all Archbishops of Canterbury were Consecrated, and their Election confirmed. Now in place of that, says the Act of it upon Parker's Records, Proferebatur Regium Mandatum pro ejus Consecratione. The Queens Mandate or Commission for Consecrating him, was produc'd as the Authority for what they did.

Lastly, I prove that the Queen had her Authority from the Parliament. First, from the Statute 25 HENRY 8. cap. 20. where the Parliament repeats out of another Act made that present Parliament, That if any Elect'd by the King, and presented to the See of Rome to be Archbishop or Bishop, should be delayed, then he should be Consecrated by two Bishops appointed by the King: And then in the same Statute grants further, that all recourse be forbidden to Rome, and Archbishops and Bishops be Confirmed and Consecrated by Bishops to be assigned by the King.

Secondly, Out of the Act of 8 Eliz. 1. made purposely to set forth the Authority next under God, by which Matthew Parker and the other first Protestant Bishops in the beginning of the Queens Reign were made, by reciting how they were made by the Authority of her Majesty, and how she was authorized to that end by the aforesaid Statute of Henry VIII. and the Statute of 1 Eliz. 1. in these words,

First, It is well known to all the degrees of this Realm, that the late King Henry the Eight was as well by all the Clergy then of this Realm in their severall Convocations, as also by all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in divers of his Parliaments justly and rightfully recognized and acknowledged to have the Supreme Power, Jurisdiction, and Authority over the Ecclesiastical State of the same, and that the said King did in the twenty fifth year of his Reign set forth a certain order of the Manner and Form, how Archbishops and Bishops should be made, &c. And although in the Reign of the late Queen the said Act was repealed, yet nevertheless at the Parliament 1 Eliz. the said Act was revived, and by another Act they made all Jurisdiction, Priviledges, &c. Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, as by any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power or Authority hath hitherto been, or lawfully may be used over the Ecclesiastical State of this Realm, is fully and absolutely by Authority of the same Parliament (*mark by what Authority*) united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm (*mark here how she is made*)

made Pope) and by the same Statute there is also given to the Queen (*mark Given*) Power and Authority by Letters Patents to Assign and Authorize such Persons as she shall think fit (*whether Clergy-men, Lawyers, Merchants, Coblers, or any other, so they be naturally born Subjects of the Realm, for the Statutes requires no more*) to exercise under her all manner of Jurisdiction in any wise touching or concerning any Spiritual Jurisdiction in this Realm. Whereupon the Queen having in her order and disposition all the said Jurisdictions, &c. hath by her Supreme Authority caused divers to be duly made and Consecrated Archbishops and Bishops, according to such Order and Form, and with such Ceremonies in and about their Consecration, as were allowed and set out by the said Acts, &c. And further, her Highness hath in her Letters Patents used divers special words whereby, by her Supreme Authority she hath dispensed with all causes and doubts of imperfections or disability, &c. as is to be seen more at large in the same Act.

In which you see declared by the Queen, Matthew Parker himself, and the whole Parliament: That Matthew Parker the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury was made Archbishop (as all the other Protestant Bishops in her time) by Authority of the Queen, and that she had her Authority for it from the Statutes, 25 Henry 8. 20. and 1 Eliz. 1. from whom all our Protestant Bishops since spring and descend, and derive all the Power and Authority that they have.

From which you see clearly that Protestant Bishops have no Authority to Teach, Preach, or to be Bishops, but what originally they have from the Parliament. Which is still more evidently confirmed by this Parliament now in being, which in the year 1662. by the Act of Uniformity, annulled the forementioned Forms of Ordination of Priests and Bishops (as being deficient) and appointed new ones by their own Authority. So from the first to the last, all the Protestant Priests and Bishops both heretofore and at this present, are only Parliamentary Priests and Bishops, and not so from Christ and his Church, but only from their Kings, Queens, and Parliament.

I must confess this present Parliament may easily answer the Parliaments of Edward the VI. and Queen Elizabeth, why it hath lately altered the Form of Ordination, instituted and used by them; to wit, because their Forms were null and invalid, but what Authority either
of

of them had to make, alter, or use any Form of Ordination, or to give Power to Teach, Preach, Minister Sacraments, or the like, of themselves, without Authority from Christ our Saviour, there I must leave them to answer him.

From the Premises I infer,

First, That they being no Priests nor Bishops, theirs is no Church; as Mr. Mason and St. Jerom grant.

Secondly, If no Church, no part of the Catholic Church, out of which, and without whose Faith kept entire and inviolate, no man can be saved; as their own Common-prayer-book affirms.

Thirdly, They can never eat the Flesh of Christ our Lord, nor drink his Blood, without which they cannot have life in them, John 6. 54.

Fourthly, They commit a most heinous Sacrilege as often as they attempt to Consecrate or Minister the most Holy Sacrament, having no such Power.

Fifthly, They commit the like Sacrilege in presuming to bear Confessions, or forgive Sins.

Sixthly, All that Communicate with them, and follow the same Religion, are involved in the same sins, so that the blind leading the blind they must necessarily both fall into the ditch of eternal perdition, foretold by our Saviour, Matth. 18. 14.

Lastly, It is to be noted, that although I conceive I have clearly proved the Ordination and Jurisdiction of their Priests and Bishops to be invalid by every argument I have used to those ends, yet to my purpose it is sufficient to have proved it by any one: For as to prove a man to be a Thief or Forger, it is sufficient to prove he has stoln one Horse, or forged one Deed, to hang him for the one, or set him on the Pillory for the other, so to prove by one argument alone that they are no Priests, nor Bishops, nor have any Jurisdiction, is sufficient to prove them guilty of Sacramental Forgery, and by that means of deluding and stealing away innumerable souls.

A
VINDICATION
 OF THE
ORDINATIONS
 OF THE
 Church of *ENGLAND*,
 In Answer to the former Paper.

THIS Paper which you sent me being only a Repetition of those Objections which were long ago refuted by Master *Mason*, with great learning and judgement, and more lately by the most Ingenious Lord Primate of *Ireland*, Dr. *Bramhall*, there needs nothing else be said to it, but only to refer the Reader to those learned and solid Writings on this Subject. The same Plea was again taken up by the Writers of two little Books published since his Majesty's Restauration, entitled *Eraſtus Senior* and *Eraſtus Junior*; which was thought so unreasonable even to some of that Communion, that one of the learnedst Priests they had in *England* did answer them; and though he did not adventure on saying our Ordination was good and valid,
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knowing how ingrateful that would have been to his Party, yet he did overthrow all those Arguments against it that are brought in this Paper, and shew'd they were of no force. This Writing of his has not been yet printed, but I have perused it in the Manuscript. Yet that this may not seem to be a declining of the task you have invited me to, and because the Books I have mentioned are not perhaps in your hands, I shall say as much in answer to it as, I hope, may fully satisfy you or any impartial Reader.

The substance of the first argument to prove that our Ministers are not Priests, is, That by the form of our Ordination the Power of Consecrating the Sacrament of Christs most Holy Body and Blood, is not given: The words only importing a Power to *dispense the Sacraments* which any Deacon may do: Therefore the power of Consecrating or making Christs Body and Blood present, being essential to the Priesthood, and our form not expressing it, and by consequence not giving it, it wants one essential requisite to the Priesthood, and therefore those that are Ordained by it, are not true Priests.

To which I answer,

1. If our Form be the same in which Christ Ordained his Apostles, we may be very well satisfied that it is good and sufficient. Now when our Saviour Ordained them, St. John tells us that he said, *Receive the Holy Ghost, whose soever sins ye remit they are remitted to them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained*: this being that Mission which he gave them (as the preceding words do clearly import; *As the Father hath sent me, so send I you*) we can think no Form so good and so full as that he made use of. It is true, we do not judge any Form so essential as to annul all Ordinations that have been made by any other, for then we should condemn both the Ordinations of the Primitive Churches, and of the Eastern Churches at this day.

And this is the reason why even according to the Ancient and most generally received Maxims of the Schools, *Orders* can be no Sacrament (tho in the general sense of the word *Sacrament*, it being no term used in Scripture, but brought into the Church, we shall not much dispute against its being called

called so) for by their Doctrin both Matter and Form of the

Sacrament must be instituted by Christ, and are not in the power of the Church*.

Now they cannot but acknowledge that the Form of giving Orders in their Church, was not instituted by Christ, nor received in the Church for divers Ages, which made Pope Innocent say, that the Forms of Ordination were ordered and invented by the Church, and were therefore to be observed, otherwise it was sufficient in giving Orders, to say, Be thou a Bishop, or be thou a Priest; therefore

though we do not annul Orders given by any other Form, yet we have all reason to conclude that used by our Saviour, to be not only sufficient, but absolutely the best and fittest.

It is without all colour of reason, that the Writers of that Church will have the Words our Saviour pronounced, after he had instituted the Eucharist, *This do in remembrance of me*, to be the Form by which he ordained them Priests; for *This do*, must relate to the whole action of the Sacrament, the Receiving and Eating, as well as the Blessing and Consecrating; therefore these words are only a Command to the Church to continue the use of the Holy Sacrament in Remembrance of Christ. Nor do those of the Church of Rome think these were the words by which Christ ordained them Priests, otherwise they would use them and think them sufficient; but they use them not, but instead of them say, *Receive thou Power to offer Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Mass both for the Living and the Dead.*

2. If this be an essential defect in our Ordination, then there were no true Priests in the Primitive Church for divers Ages, and there are no true Priests at this day in the Greek

* *Vasques in 3 parts, D. 129. c. 5. n. 71, 72.* Says it is the constant opinion of the Catholics, that the Sacraments consist of some things and words Instituted by God, which men cannot alter or change, and that Christ delivered both the words and things of which the Sacraments consist. Which he says are necessary in all Churches, and rejects the Opinion of Pope Innocent the 4th. and others, who pretend that some things are necessary to the Sacraments in some Churches, which are not necessary in other Churches, and *Disp. 239. in 3. p. c. 4. n. 36.* He again resumes the same thing, and refuses *Tapperus*, who thought that in some Sacraments in which Christ did not determine the Matter and Form he left the power of assigning these with his Church. Which he denies, and says, no Power about the determination of the Matter and Form was left with the Church; but the assignation of those is believed, done by Christ, for since the institution of the Sacrament is by Divine right, the Matter and Form must be assigned by the same right; for proving which, he cites the Council of Trent.

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Church; and yet neither of these can be acknowledged by the Church of *Rome*, for if they annul the Ordinations of the Primitive Church, they likewise annul their own which are derived from them. They do also own the Orders of the *Greek* Church to be valid, as appears by their receiving them into their Communion at the Council of *Florence*, and by their practice ever since; which *Morinus* hath in the first part of his Work so fully proved from the decrees of Popes and Councils, that the thing can no more be doubted; and at this day there are *Greek* Churches at *Rome*, maintain'd at the Popes charge, in which Orders are given according to the *Greek Pontificals*, as he informs us.

That in the Primitive Forms there were no express words of giving power to consecrate the Sacrament; I appeal to the Collection of the most Antient Forms of Ordination, that

De Ord. Sa. *Morinus* a Priest of that Church, and a Penitentiary in great esteem at *Rome*, has made, where it will be found that for many Ages this power was not given expressly, or in so many words. The most ancient *Rubrick* about this, is in the 4th.

Can. 3. Council of *Cartbage*, if those Canons be genuine, *When a Priest is ordained, the Bishop blessing him and laying his hand on his head, all the Priests that are present shall likewise lay their hands on his head about the Bishops hand*: Where we see that the Imposition of hands and the Bishop's blessing, was all the matter and form of these Orders. *Denis* (called the *Arcopagite*) tells us that the Priest that was to be Ordained, kneeled before the Bishop, who laid his hand on his head and did Consecrate him with a holy Prayer, and then marked him with the sign of the Cross; and the Bishop and the rest of the Clergy that were present, gave him the Kiss of Peace. Here we find nothing but imposition of Hands and Prayer. Now there being no general Liturgies nor Ordinals then in the World, but every Countrey (or perhaps every Diocess) having their own Forms, it was never defined in what form of words this Prayer and Benediction should be used; but was left indifferent, so the substance of the Blessing were preserved. It is true, the Author of those Constitutions that are ascribed to the Apostles, sets down the Prayer of Ordination, for which he vouches

Lib. 3. cap. 16. Saint *John* Author; which is, *That the Priest might be filled with*

with the spirit of Grace and Wisdom to help and govern the Flocks with a pure heart, that he might meekly teach the people, being full of healing Operations and instructive Discourses, and might serve God sincerely with a pure mind and willing soul, and might through Christ perfect the sacred Services for the people; in which there is nothing that gives in express words, the power of Consecration.

In the most ancient Ritual that *Morinus* could find, which belonged to the Church of *Poitiers*, and has been composed about the middle of the 6th. Century; there is no mention in the Prayer of Consecration of any such power.

The same Prayer of Consecration is also in another Ritual which he believes 900 years old: and also in another, that he believes 800 years old. It is true, in these Rituals there is a Blessing added, in which among other things the Consecrator prays, *that by the obedience of the people the Priest may transform the Body and Blood of thy Son by an undefiled Benediction*; But here is no power given, nor is this Prayer essential to the Orders so given, but a subsequent Benediction: Therefore the want of it cannot annul Orders. And in another MSS. Ritual belonging to the Abbey of *Corbey*, written about the middle of the 9th. Century, there is nothing but the Prayer of the Consecration of a Priest, which is the same with what is in the other Rituals, but the blessing which mentions *the transforming of the Body of Christ*, is not in it, by which it appears that it was not looked on as essential to Orders. And in another Ritual compiled for the Church of *England*, now lying in the Church of *Roüen*, believed to be about 800 years old, the Form of Consecration is the same that it is in the other Rituals. The ancient Ritual of the Church of *Rhemes*, about the same age, and divers other ancient Rituals agree with these. But the first mention of this power of saying Mass, given in the Consecration of Priests, is in a Ritual believed to be 700 years old, compiled by some near *Rome*, in which the Rite of delivering the Vessels, with these words, *Receive power to offer Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Masses, &c.* is first set down; yet that is wanting in a Ritual of *Belelay*, written about the Thousandth year, so that it was not univer-

† *Deus Sancti-*
ficator.

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universally received for near an Age after it was first brought in. Now in all these Rituals the Prayer of Consecration is that which is now in the Pontifical only one of the Prayers of the Office †, but is not the Prayer of Consecration, from which two things clearly follow; First, that no Form of Ordination is so essential, but that the Church may change it and put another in its room, and if the other be apposite and fit, there is no fault committed by the Change, much less such an one as invalidates the Orders so given. Secondly, It is clearly made out, that in the Ordinations of the Primitive Church for 900. years after Christ, there was no power of Consecrating Christ's Body and Blood expressly given in the Forms and words of Ordination. So that if the want of such words annuls our Ordinations, it will do the same to theirs; the consequence of which, will be; that there were no true Orders in the Church of God till the latter Rites in the *Roman Pontifical* were invented? and if that be true, then the Orders of the *Roman Church* which have descended from them, are not true, since they flow from men not truly Ordained. And at this day the *Greek Church* (as is set down by the Learned and Pious Bishop of *Venice* treating of the matter and Form of Orders) when they Ordain give no such power, but the Bishop lays on his right hand on the Priest's head, and says, *The Grace of God that always heals the things that are weak, and perfects things that are imperfect, promotes this very Reverend Deacon to be a Priest: Let us therefore pray for him that the Grace of the most Holy Spirit come upon him.* Then those that assist, say thrice for him, *Kyrie Eleison.* Then the Bishop makes the Sign of the Cross, and prays for the Grace of God on the Priest thus Ordained, holding his hand all the while over his head; then he puts the Priestly Vestiments on him, and gives him the Kiss of Peace, which is also done by the rest of the Clergy there present.

And *Habert* a Doctor of *Sorbonne*, who has published the *Greek Pontifical* with learned Observations on it, gives us this same account of their Ordinations which *Morinus* has confirmed by the several Ancient *Greek MSS.* which he has published, one of them being 800 years old, which agrees with

with it; and neither in the first Prayer, nor second (during both which the Bishop holds his hands over the Head of him that is to be Consecrated) is there any mention made of this power of Consecrating Christ's Body and Blood. And in the Rituals of the *Maronites*, *Nestorians*, and *Cophthites* (all which *Morinus* proves are held good and valid by the Church of *Rome*) there is no such power given in the words of Consecration: Their Forms being almost the same with those used in the *Greek Church*: So that we generally find Imposition of hands with a Prayer for Grace, and a Blessing, were looked on as sufficient for Ordination: And this was taken from the practices

of the Apostles, who Ordained by Prayer and imposition of Hands, as appears from the places cited in the Margent; and that these Prayers were, that God might pour out the gifts and graces of his Spirit on them: Both the nature of the thing, and some of the cited places do fully prove. From all which it appears, that either our Ordinations

are valid, or there are no true Orders in the whole Christian Church; no not in the Church of *Rome* it self.

3. The very Doctrine and practice of the Church of *Rome* shews that the essentials of Ordination remain still with us. By the Maxims of the Schools there must be matter and form in every Sacrament; the Matter is some outward sensible action or thing; the Form are the words applied to that action or thing which hallow it, and give the Character, when (as they say) the indelible Character is impressed (which they believe is done by Orders.) The imposition of hands is held to be the Matter by almost all their Doctors, as is acknowledged by *Bellarmino*; *Vasques*, and most of the Schoolmen are of this mind. It is true, *Eugenius* in his Instruction to the

Acts 6. 6. Whom they set before the Apostles and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.

Acts 13. 3. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.

Acts 14. 23 And when they had Ordained (or literally imposed Hands) them Elders in every Church and had prayed with fasting.

1 *Tim.* 4. 14. Neglect not the gift that is in thee which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.

1 *Tim.* 5. 22. Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be thou partaker of other mens sins.

2 *Tim.* 1. 6, 7. Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands.

For God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and of Love, and of a sound mind.

Bellarmino, de
Sac. Ord. cap. 3.

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Cap. de extr.
Unct.

De Sacr. Ord.
Can. 4.

Armenians, set down in the Council of *Florence*, declares that the giving the Sacred Vessels, is the Matter in Orders; but the Council of *Trent* (which was a far more learned and cautious Assembly than the other was, in which there was nothing but Ignorance and Deceit) determined that Priests have their Orders by the Imposition of hands; for treating of Extream Unction, they decreed that the Minister of it was either the Bishop or Priest, lawfully Ordained by them, by the Imposition of the hands of the Presbytery. And *Bellarmino*, both from the Scriptures and the Fathers, proves that the Imposition of hands must be the Matter of this Sacrament, since they speak of it, and of it only. Now if this be the Matter of this Sacrament, then the Form of it must be the words joyned with it in their Pontifical, *Receive the Holy Ghost*. And the Council of *Trent* does clearly insinuate, that this is the Form of Orders in these words; *If anyman say that in Ordination, the Holy Ghost is not given; and therefore that the Bishop says in vain, Receive the Holy Ghost, or by it a Character is not impressed—Let him be an Anathema*. It is true, their Doctors to reconcile the disagreement of those two Councils, have devised the distinction of the power of Sacrificing, and of the power of Jurisdiction in a Priest. The last they confess, is given by the Imposition of hands, the former they say, is given by the delivering of the Sacred Vessels.

Tom. 3. m. 3.
Disp. 24. c. 3.

And indeed, as *Morinus* doth often observe, the School-men being very Ignorant both of the more Ancient Rites of the Church, and of the practice of the *Eastern Churches*, and looking only on the Rituals then Received in the *Latin Church*, have made strange work about the matter and Form of Ordination; but now that they begin to see a little further than they did, then they are of a far different opinion; so *Vasques*, whom the School-men of this Age, look on as an Oracle, treating of Episcopal Orders, says in express words, *That the Imposition of Hands is the Matter, and the words uttered with it, are the Form of Orders, and that the Sacramental Grace is conferred in and by the application of the Matter and Form*.

It is true: He joyns in with the commonly received
Doctrinē

Doctrine of the Schools about the two Powers given to Priests by a double matter and form, yet he cites (a) *Bona-venture* ; and (b) *Petrus Sotus*, for this opinion, that the Imposition of hands, and the words joined with it, were the matter and form of Priestly Orders ; and though *Vasques* himself undertakes to prove the other Opinion, as that which agrees best with the Principles of their Church, yet it is visible he thought the other Opinion truer ; for when he proves Orders to be a Sacrament, he lays down for a Maxim, that the outward Rite and Ceremony, the Promise of Grace, and the command for the continuance, must be all found in Scripture before any thing is to be acknowledged a Sacrament : and when pursuant to this, he proves that the Rite of Orders is in Scripture, he assigns no other but the Imposition of hands : so that according to his own Doctrine, that is the only Sacramental Rite, or the matter of Orders.

And Cardinal *de Lugo* says, *The giving the Bread and the Wine we know is not determinately required by any Divine Institution, since the Greeks are Ordained without it ; therefore it is to be confessed that Christ only intended there should be some proportioned Sign for the matter of Orders, either this or that.* And it is now the most commonly received Opinion, even amongst the Schoolmen, that Christ neither determined the Matter, nor the Form of Orders, but left both to the Church. And *Habert* proves that the *Greek Form* of Ordination is sufficient to express the Grace of God then prayed for, which is the chief thing in Ordination ; and though the *Greek Fathers* do not mention these words that are now used as the Form in their days, yet he cites many places out of their Writings, by which they seem to allude to those words, though the custom then received of speaking mystically and darkly of all the Rites of the Church, made that they did not deliver themselves more plainly about it ; but he concludes his second Observation in these words : *In those Sacraments where the Matter and Form are not expressed in Scripture, it must be supposed that Christ did only in general institute both to his Apostles, leaving a power with the Church to design, constitute, and determine these in several ways ; so that the chief Substance, Intention, and Scope of the Institution, were retained with some general fitness and analogy for signifying the effect of this Sacrament.*

Disp. 239. cap. 2. n. 5.
(a) *In 4 Disp. 24. pract. quest. 4.*
(b) *Lib. de Ju. Sacer. Lect. 5. de Sacr. Disp. 235. c. 3.*
Disp. de Sacr. n. 87.
Observ. 1. & 2. de Ord. Pref.
Tit. 8. de cons. Pref.

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And if both the Eastern and Western Churches have made Rituals, which though they differ one from another, yet are good and valid; it seems very unreasonable to deny the Church of England, which is as free and independent a Church as any of them, the same right; for it is to be observed, that the *Catholic* Church did never agree on one Uniform Ritual, or Book of Ordination, but that was still left to the freedom of particular Churches; and so this Church has as much power to make or alter Rituals, as any other has: Therefore the Substantials of Ordination being still retained, which are Imposition of hands, with fit Prayers and Blessings, it is most unreasonable to except against our Forms of Ordination.

Let it be also considered, that it is indeed true, that the last Imposition of hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, appointed in the Pontifical, is not above 400 years old, nor can any Ancients MSS be shewed in which it is found; yet that is now most commonly received in the Church of Rome, to be the matter and form of Ordination; for all their Doctors hold, that either the delivering the Vessels, and saying, *Receive Power to offer Sacrifice, &c.* or the Imposition of hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* is the Matter and Form of Orders.

Exerc. 7. cap. 1. Against the former, *Morinus* has said so much, that I need add nothing; for by unanswerable Arguments, he proves that is not essential to Orders, since neither the Primitive Church, the Eastern Churches, nor the Roman Rituals, or the Writers on the Roman Offices, ever mention it till within these 700 years, and at first it was only done in the Consecration of Bishops, and afterwards (by custom, no Decree of Council or Pope being to be found about it) it was used in the Ordination of Priests.

Exerc. 7. cap. 2. The same Author doth also study to prove, that the Imposition of the Bishops hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, is not essential to Ordination, but is only a Benediction superadded to it, and shews that it was not used in the Primitive Church, nor mentioned by any ancient Writer; and therefore he is of opinion that the first Imposition of hands gives the Orders in which both Bishop and Priests lay on their hands, and pray that God would multiply his Gifts on those whom he had chosen to the function of a Priest, that what they received by his favour, they might attain by his help, through Christ our Lord. If this be true, then

then two things are to be well observed. First, That the Prayer, which according to his opinion, is the Prayer of Consecration, was not esteemed so by the Ancient Rituals, in which it is only called a *Prayer for the Priests that were to be Ordained*; after which, the Prayer of Consecration followed; from which it appears that there was no constant rule in giving Orders; and that what the Church once held to be but a preparatory Prayer, was afterwards made the Prayer of Consecration; and that which they esteemed the Prayer of Consecration, was afterwards held but a Prayer of Benediction. Secondly, That in the formal words of Consecration (if his Opinion be true) there is no power given of consecrating the Sacraments.

But *Morinus* is alone in this opinion, and it is certain that the general Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, is, that the last Imposition of hands is the Matter of these Orders, and parallel to this is the Imposition of hands in the Consecration of a Bishop, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, which is undoubtedly the matter of Episcopal Orders: Therefore that same Rite with these words, is also the matter of the Priestly Orders. And it is a foolish and groundless Conceit, to pretend there are two distinct Powers essential to the Priesthood to be conferred by two several Rites; for then all who were Ordained by one of these Rites without the other (as were all the Priests of the Christian World, till within these seven hundred years) had not the Priestly Office entire and complete. And further, according to their own Principles, the Character is an Indivisible thing, and inseparably joyned to the Sacrament; Therefore that which gives the Character, gives the Sacrament. Now according to their Doctrine, the Character is given by the Imposition of hands: Therefore the Sacrament consists in that. And all the other Rites are only Ceremonies added to it, which are not of the essence of it; from which it follows that we who use Imposition of hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* use all that according to the Doctrine of that Church is necessary to it; and therefore they have no reason to except against the validity of our Orders, even according to their own Principles.

Fourthly, If by Consecrating, or making present Christ's Blessed Body, they understand the incredible Mystery of *Transubstantiation*, we very freely confess there is no such power given

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to our Priests by their Orders: But I shall not digress from this Subject to another; therefore I may confine my Discourse to it; I acknowledg that we do receive by our Orders, all the power of Consecrating the Sacraments which Christ has left with his Church.

First, When we are Ordained to be Priests, there is given us all that which our Church declares, inseparable to the Priesthood; and such is the Consecrating the *Eucharist*: Therefore it being declared and acknowledged on all sides, what Functions are proper to the Priesthood if we be Ordained Priests, though there were no further Declaration made in the Form of Ordination, yet the other concomitant actions and offices, shewing that we are made Priests, all that belongs to that function is therein given to us; this made Pope *Innocent* define that, *Be thou a Priest*, was a sufficient Form in it self.

Secondly, The great end of all the Priestly Functions, being to make reconciliation between God and Man; for which cause Saint *Paul* calls it the *Ministry of Reconciliation*; whatever gives the power for that, must needs give also the means necessary for it; therefore the Sacrament being a Mean instituted by our Saviour for the Remission of Sins, which he intimated in these words: *This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood for the Remission of Sins*; and the death of Christ being also the great Mean in order to that end, the power of forgiving sins Ministerially, must carry with it the power of doing all that is instituted for attaining that end.

1 Cor. 4. 1.

Thirdly, The power of Consecrating the Sacraments, is very fully and formally given in our Ordination, in these words: *Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of his Holy Sacraments*; where they bewray great inconsideration, that think *Dispensing* is barely the distributing the Sacrament, which a Deacon may do; The word is taken from the *Latin*, and is the same by which they render those words of St. *Paul*, *Stewards of the Mysteries of God*; or according to the Style of the Church of *Rome*, which Translates *Mystery*, Sacrament; *Dispensers of the Sacraments of God*; Therefore this being a phrase wherein St. *Paul* expressed the Apostolical Function, one might think it could serve to express the office of a Priest well enough; so that *Dispensing* is more than *Distributing*; and is such a power as a Steward hath, who knows and considers every ones condition, and prepares what

what is fit and proper for them; therefore the blessing of the Sacraments being a necessary part of the *Dispensing* of them, they being blessed for that end, and the *Dispensing* them, including the whole Office in which the Church appoints the Sacraments to be dispensed, of which Consecration is a main part; these words do clearly give and manifestly import the power of consecrating the Sacraments.

Now the Question comes to this: What is meant by the word *Dispensing*; They say it is only to distribute the Elements; we say it is to administer the Sacrament according to the Office. If what we say be the true signification of it; then the power of consecrating the Elements, is formally given with our Orders. And that this is the true meaning of it, appears both from common use; which makes it more than barely to Distribute; and from the declared meaning of those who use it, which is the only rule to judge of all doubtful expressions: Now the declared meaning of our Church in the use of this word being so express and positive; from thence it follows, that by *Dispense* must be understood, to give the Sacrament according to the whole Office of the Church.

The same is also to be said of the words, *Take thou Authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the Holy Sacraments*; for tho *Minister* and *Serve* in the Greek Tongue, be the same; yet *Minister* in our common acceptation, is all one with *Administer*, only *Minister* is more usual when the thing Ministered is Sacred or Holy; therefore this takes also in it the whole Office of the Sacrament: And as in the former words the Power is given; so in these words it is applied and restrained in its exercise to a due vocation, to cut off idle, itinerant, and for the most part, scandalous Priests.

And thus far I have considered this first Argument at great length, both because it is that of which they make most use to raise Scruples in the thoughts of unlearned persons; and the clearing of it will make way for answering the rest. Therefore leaving this, I go to the Second Argument; which is, That the offering of Sacrifice is an essential part of Priesthood. So *Heb.* 5. 1. and 3. therefore we having no such power conferred on us, cannot be true Priests.

To this I Answer.

First, It is strange Inconsideration to argue from the Epistle
to

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to the Hebrews, that the Pastors of the Christian Church ought to be Priests in the sense that is mentioned in that Epistle; the scope of which is to prove, That Christ is the only Priest of this new Dispensation: And the Notion of a Priest in that Epistle, is a person called and consecrated to offer some living Sacrifice, and to slay it, and by the shedding of the Blood of the Sacrifice slain, to make reconciliation: This being the sense in which the Jews understood it; the Apostle among other Arguments to prove the death of Christ to be the true Sacrifice, brings this for one, that there was to be another Priesthood after the Order of Melchisedeck. For proving this, he lays down in the first Four Verses of the 5th. Chapter, the Jewish notion of a Priest; then he goes on to prove that Christ was such a Priest, called of God and Consecrated; this he prosecutes more fully in the 7th. Chapter, where he asserts that Christ was that other Priest after the Order of Melchisedeck, and v. 15. he calls him another Priest, and v. 23. and 24. makes this plainer in these words; *And they truly were many Priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of Death; but this man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable Priesthood*: From which it is apparent that the Apostles design in these places, is to prove that there is but one Priest in that sense mentioned chap. 5. 1. under the New Testament. And had the Writer of this Paper read over that Epistle, he must needs have seen this; but this is one of the effects of their not reading the Scriptures carefully, that they make use of places of Scripture, never considering any thing more than the general sound of some words, without examining what goes along with them.

But as it is clear from that Epistle, that there is but one Priest in the strict Notion of it; so it is no less clear that there is but one propitiatory Sacrifice among Christians in its strict Notion; for having mentioned the frequent Oblations to take away sins under the Mosaical Law, chap. 5. v. 3. he makes the opposition clear, chap. 7. v. 27. in these words. *Who needeth not daily as those High Priests, to offer up Sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the People; for this he did once when he offered up himself.* And chap. 9. v. 7. having mentioned the High Priests annual entering into the most Holy place; he sets in opposition to it, v. 12. *Christ's entering in once to the Holy place, having made Redemption for us by his own Blood.* And v. 22. he says, *Without shedding of Blood there was no Remission*; by which he does clearly

clearly put down all unbloody Sacrifices that are propitiatory : And v. 28. he says, *Christ was offered once to bear the sins of many.* And chap. 10. v. 2. he says, *That when the Worshippers are once purged, then would not Sacrifices cease to be offered.* To prove that the Sacrifices of the Law had not that Virtue : Therefore we being purged by the Blood of Christ, must offer no more propitiatory Sacrifices ; and all this is made yet clearer, v. 11, and 12. *And every Priest stands daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same Sacrifices which can never take away sins.* But this man after he had offered up one Sacrifice for sins for ever, *sate down on the right Hand of God.* From all which you may see, it is as plain as can be, that there is but one Priest and one propitiatory Sacrifice under the New Testament ; for the places I have cited, are not some ambiguous or dark Expressions, but full and formal Proofs, by which in a long Series of Discourse and Argument, the thing is put out of doubt. Therefore those of that Church do very unwisely ever to mention that Epistle, or to say any thing that may oblige people to look upon it ; So that, except to such as they are sure will read no more of it than they will shew them or cite to them, they had best speak of it to no body else.

Secondly, Though we deny all propitiatory Sacrifices, but that which our Blessed Saviour offered for us once on the Cross ; yet we acknowledge that we have Sacrifices in the true strict and Scriptural notion of that word ; for propitiatory ones are but one sort of Sacrifice, which in its general notion stands for any Holy Oblations made to God ; and in this sense, Thank-Offerings, Peace-Offerings, and Free-will Offerings, were Sacrifices under the Law ; so were also their Commemorative Sacrifices, of the *Paschal Lamb*, which were all Sacrifices, though not Propitiatory. And in this sense

* *Psal. 142. 2.*
Let my Prayer
be set forth
before thee

* our prayers and praises ; a broken heart, and the dedicating
as Incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the Evening Sacrifice.
Psal. 52. 27. The Sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit, a broken and a contrite heart,
O God, thou wilt not despise.

Hebr. 13. 15. By him therefore let us offer the Sacrifice of praise to God continually,
that is the fruit of our Lips, giving Thanks to his Name.

Rom. 12. 1. I beseech you therefore, Brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your
Bodies a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.

Philip. 4. 18 But I have all, and abound ; I am full, having received of *Epaphroditus*, the
things which were sent from you, an Odor of a sweet smell, a Sacrifice acceptable, well-
pleasing to God.

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our lives to the Service of God, are Sacrifices, and are so called in Scripture; so also is the giving of Alms. And in this sense we deny not but the Holy *Eucharist* is a *Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving*; and it is so called in one of the Collects. It is also a Commemoration of that *one Sacrifice* which it represents, and by which the worthy receivers have the Virtue of that applied to them. The Oblation of the Elements of Bread and Wine to be Sanctified, is also a kind of Sacrifice; and in all these Senses we acknowledge the Sacrament to be a true Sacrifice, as the Primitive Church did.

But as we do not allow it to be a propitiatory Sacrifice for the living, much less can we believe it such for the dead; or that the Priests consecrating and consuming of it, is a Sacrifice for the people; it being a Sacrifice as it is a Sacrament, which is only to those who receive it. And in these three points; First, That it is no propitiatory Sacrifice: 2. That the dead receive no good from it: 3. That the Priests taking it alone, does no good to the people who receive it not: We are sure we have all Antiquity of our side. But to digress upon that, were to go too far out of the way; and the Writers of Controversies have done it fully. Therefore the power of *Dispensing the Word of God and of his Holy Sacraments*, gives all the Authority that is in the Christian Church for offering of Sacrifices. And if they deny this, they must deny the validity of all the ancient Ordinations, for they can shew no such Form in any of their Ordinals.

Thirdly, What was said before of the Doctrine of the Church of Rome about the Matter and Form of Orders, as they are a Sacrament, shews that the power they give in the Ordination of Priests, of offering Sacrifices, is not essential to it, but only a Rite they have added to it; the want whereof can be no essential defect, and so can never annul our Orders: What was said before in Answer to the first Argument, is again to be remembered here, that in all the Ancient Rituals there is no power of offering Propitiatory Sacrifices given in the form of Ordination. It is true in the MSS. which lies in the Monastery of St. German, there is a new Rite set down of delivering the Priestly Vestments, in which among other words these are added: And, *Do thou offer Propitiatory Sacrifices for the Sins and offences of the People, to Almighty God.* Which words are now omitted in that part of the Roman Pontifical, and made a part of the final Blessing given at the

the end of the Office, but this at most is but 800 years old; and therefore cannot be essential to Orders, since there were true Priests in the Christian Church 800 years before this was used. And to this day in the Greek Church there is no power given by the Consecration to offer propitiatory Sacrifices; for though in the Second Prayer said in Ordinations in which God's Holy Spirit is prayed for upon the Priest, *That he may be worthy to stand before the Altar of God without blame, and may preach the Gospel of his Kingdom, and holily administer the Word of his Truth:* It is added, *And may offer to thee Gifts and Spiritual Sacrifices;* but there is no reason to gather from these words that they give power for offering Propitiatory Sacrifices. We acknowledge that we offer Gifts and Sacrifices in the Holy Eucharist; but we reject propitiatory ones; and these words do not at all import them. And the truth of it is, when the Writers of the Roman Church are pressed with the Arguments before mention'd, that the Eucharist can be no Propitiatory Sacrifice: Since 1. there no Blood shed in it: 2. No Destruction is made of the Sacrifice; for it is only the Accidents, and not the Blessed Body of Christ that the Priest consumes: 3. That Christ's Cross is called *one Sacrifice once offered*: 4. That his being now exalted at the Fathers right Hand, shews his Body can no more be subject to be Sacrificed or mangled; When these with many Authorities from the Fathers are brought, they are forced to fly to some Distinctions by which their Doctrine comes to differ little from ours; but still those high and indecent Expressions remain in their Rituals and Missals, which they are forced to mollifie, as they do those Prayers in which the same things, and in the same manner and words, are asked of the Blessed Virgin and the other Saints, which we ask of God. And though they would stretch them to a bare Intercession, which the genuine sense of the words will not bear, yet they will never change them; for it is the standing Maxim of that Church, Never to confess an error, nor make any change to the better.

The Third Reason against our Orders of Priesthood, is a Repetition of the first, and is already answered.

The Fourth Argument is, That none can Institute the Form of a Sacrament, to give Grace and make present Christ's Body and Blood, but the Authors of Grace, and those that had power over his Body and Blood; but they that Instituted this Form,

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had

had only their Authority from the Parliament ; as appears by the Act it self, by which some Prelates and other Learned men being impowred, did Invent the Form before mentioned, never before heard of, either in Scripture or the Church of God.

To this I Answer.

First, It is certain the Writer of this Paper did never think it would have been seen by any body that could examine it, but intended only to impose on some Illiterate persons ; otherwise he would never have said that a Form which Christ himself used when he ordained his Apostles, and which is used in their own Church as the proper Form of Ordination, was never before heard of in the Scripture or the Church of God.

Secondly, Those who compiled the *Liturgy* and *Ordinal*, had no other Authority from the Parliament than Holy and Christian Princes did before give in the like cases. It is a common place, and has been handled by many Writers ; How far the Civil Magistrate may make Laws and give Commands about Sacred things ? 'Tis known what Orders *David* and *Solomon*, *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah* and *Josiah*, gave in such cases, *They divided the Priests into several Courses, gave Rules for their attendance, turned out a High Priest and put another in his stead ; sent the Priests over the Cities to teach the People ; gathered the Priests and commanded them to sanctifie themselves, and the House of the Lord, and offer Sacrifices on the Altar. And gave orders about the Forms of their Worship, that they should praise God in the words of David and Asaph : And gave orders about the time of observing the Passover, That in a case of Necessity it might be observed on the Second Month ; though by their Law it was to be kept the first Month. And for the Christian Emperors, let the Code, or the Novels, or the Capitulars of Charles the Great be read, and in them many Laws will be found about the Qualifications, Elections, and Consecrations of Church-men made by the best of all the Roman Emperors, such as *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, &c. They called Councils to judg of the greatest points of Faith, which met and sate on their Writ, whose determinations they confirmed, and added the Civil Sanction to them. And even Pope *Leo*, though a higher spirited Pope than any of his predecessors were, did intreat the Emperor *Martian* to annul the Second Council of *Ephesus*, and to give order that the Ancient Decrees*

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of

1 Chron. 23.6.

1 Chron. 24.19.

1 Kings 2.27.

2 Chron. 17.7.

8, 9.

2 Chron. 29.4.5.

15, & 27.

Vers. 30.

2 Chron. 30.2.

of the Council of *Nice* should remain in Force. Now it were a great Scandal on those Councils to say, That they had no Authority for what they did, but what they derived from the Civil powers; so it is no less unjust to say, because the Parliament Impowered some persons to draw Forms for the more pure Administration of the Sacraments; and Enacted that these only should be lawfully exercised in this Realm, which is the Civil Sanction; that therefore these persons had no other Authority for what they did: Let those men declare upon their Consciences if there be any thing they desire more earnestly than such an Act for Authorizing their own Forms; and would they make any Scruple to accept of it, if they might have it? Was it ever heard of, that the Civil Sanction which only makes any constitution to have the force of a Law, gives it another Authority than a Civil one? And such Authority the Church of *Rome* thinks fit to accept of in all States and Kingdoms of that Religion.

Thirdly, The Prelates and other Divines that compiled our Forms of Ordination, did it by Virtue of the Authority they had from Christ, as Pastors of his Church, which did empower them to teach the people the pure Word of God, and to administer the Sacraments, and perform all other holy Functions according to the Scripture; the practice of the primitive Church, and the Rules of Expediency and Reason; and this they ought to have done, though the Civil powers had opposed it; in which case their duty had been to have submitted to whatever severities or persecutions they might have been put to for the Name of Christ, and the Truth of his Gospel. But on the other hand, when it pleased God to turn the hearts of those that had the chief Power, to set forward this good Work, then they did (as they ought) with all Thankfulness, acknowledg so great a Blessing, and accept and improve the Authority of the Civil powers for adding the Sanction of a Law to the Reformation, in all the parts and branches of it. So by the Authority they derived from Christ, and the Warrant they had from Scripture and the Primitive Church, these Prelates and Divines, made those Alterations and Changes in the Ordinal; and the King and the Parliament, who are vested with the Supream Legislative Power, added their Authority to them to make them Obligatory on the Subjects. Which is all that is im-

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ported by the word *Lawful* in the Act of Parliament; the ordinary use whereof among Lawyers, is, *A thing according to Law.*

The Fourth Argument against the Validity of our Priestly Orders, is, That we have them from those that are not Bishops; which carries him to the next Conclusion, that our Bishops are not Bishops.

But before I follow him to that, I must desire you would consider with how much dissingenuity this Paper is framed, that would impose on the easy Reader the belief of our first Reformers not being true Bishops, when the Writer cannot but know that *Arch-bishop Cranmer* was a Bishop as truly Consecrated and invested, as any of the *Roman Church* were, and was confirmed by the Pope, who sent him the *Pall*; and to satisfy you that they knew him to be such, they degraded him with the usual Ceremonies before his Martyrdom. So that he being the Fountain of our Clergy that succeeded him, and being truly Consecrated himself, all those he Ordained, are by the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, Bishops or Priests, since Orders according to their Doctrine leave an *Indelible Character*, which can never be taken away. So that by their Principles no following sentence could deprive him of the power of Ordaining. It is true, there were many disorderly practices of some Popes in the latter Ages, in annulling Orders and re-ordaining those ordained by others; for Pope *Urban* the Second appointed those who were ordained Simoniacally, to be re-ordained. And *Stephen* the Fourth in a Synod, Decreed that all the Ordinations his predecessor Pope *Constantine* had made, were null and void, because he from a Layman was chosen a Pope; and though he passed through the Intermedial degrees of Priest and Deacon, yet he stopt not so long in them, as was appointed by the Canons; and upon the same account it was also judged, that *Photius* (the Learned Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who in six days went through all the Ecclesiastical Degrees, from a Layman to a Patriarch) had no power of Ordaing lawfully, and all the Orders he gave, were annulled by Pope *Nicolaus*. And to mention no more, the Orders given by Pope *Formosus*, were annulled by his Successor Pope *Stephen* the Sixth, upon the pretence of some Crimes and Irregularities with which he was charged; these practices

practices as they gave great Scandal, so they gave occasion to much disputing about the Legality and Canonicalness of these proceedings; for the Canonists and Schoolmen being generally very ignorant, and prepossessed with an opinion of the Popes Infallibility, studied to flatter the Court of *Rome*, all that was possible. Yet on the other hand there was so much to be said against these proceedings, that as appears by *Petrus Damiani*, *Auxilius*; and other Writers of that time, there was great perplexity, and many different Opinions about them. But the ignorance and passion of those Ages appears evidently in this particular, for there is nothing more manifest than that the Ancient Church was of another opinion; and as in the debate between Pope *Stephen* and St. *Cyprian* about the re-baptizing of Hereticks, the constant opinion and practice of the following Ages, was against re-baptizing such as were baptized by those Heretiques who retained the essentials of Baptism: So by the same parity of reason, and upon the same Arguments they held the Ordinations of Hereticks valid, that retained the essentials of Ordination.

In the case of Heretiques we have these Instances, *Felix* was Consecrated Bishop of *Rome* by the *Arians* in the room of *Libertius*, whose banishment they had procured, and yet he was acknowledged a righteous Pope, and his Ordinations were accounted valid. In the General Council of *Ephesus* the Priests of the *Messalian* Heresie were appointed to be received into the Church, and continue Priests upon renouncing their Heresie. The same was also granted to *Nestorians*, *Pelagians*, *Eutychians*, *Monothelites*, and divers other Heretiques, as *Morinus* proves at length. And at this day though the *Greek* Church is condemned by the *Roman*, as Heretical in the point of the *Procession* of the Holy Ghost, yet they are received according to their Orders into their Communion when they renounce their Heresie. And their great *Vasques* says, that all the Schoolmen and Summits agree, that an Heretical Excommunicate or suspended Bishop has still the power of giving Orders, for which he cites many Schoolmen; and he likewise proves, that a Bishop after degradation retains the same power: And the case of Schismatics is no less clear, for to wave the Decision of the Council of *Nice* (which seems somewhat dubious) in the case of the *Novatian* Ordinations we find frequently in Saint *Austin* Tre-

Atb Ep. ad Sol.
Bar. ad An.
355. n. 56, 57.
Bar. ad An.
357. n. 63, 64.

Cap. 10, 11.
Exerc. 5.

Disp. 141. cap.
1.

N. 8.

Collat. 2. cum
Donat. & Ep
50.

* Sect. 37.

Cap. 8. Exer. 5.
num. 7.

tises and Conferences with the *Donatists*, that they offered to them, if they would return to the Unity of the Church, to receive them according to their Orders. So that they did not think Schism did take away the power of giving Orders. And in the case of that long and scandalous Schism of the Papacy for fifty years together, when the one sat at *Rome*, and the other at *Avignon*, though beside their Schism, Depositions, Excommunications and Censures of all sorts passed on both sides by each of those Popes against the other, and it must be confessed that one of them was the Schismatick, and by consequence the Censures fell justly on him; Yet both their Ordinations were held valid, and when the matter was settled at the Council of *Constance*, the Ordinations on no side were annulled or renewed. And though *Petrus de Lunay*, who was called *Benedict* the Thirteenth, refused to submit to them, and lay down his pretensions as the others did; yet when * they gave sentence against him, there is not a word in it of annulling Orders given by him. From all which it follows, that neither the pretence of *Herésie*, *Schism*, nor *Censures*, will according to the practice either of the Primitive Church, or of the Church of *Rome* even in these latter Ages, be of any force to invalidate our Orders.

Which was well seen by *Morinus*; and though he does not write upon this head with so much ingenuity, as he does on other points; yet he lays this down as a Maxim, "That all the Ordinations of Heretiques and Schismaticques made according to the forms of the Church, and where the Heretiques that gave them were also rightly Ordained according to the forms of the Church, are valid as to their Substance, and are not to be repeated though they be unlawful; and both he that gave, and he that received them, sinned grievously; nor is it in any case lawful for a Catholick to receive Orders from Hereticks or Schismaticks; Therefore in those Ordinations, if all other things be done according to the form of the Church, and only the Crime of Herésie be charged on the Orders given, the substance of it is not thereby vitiated, but there is a perfect and entire Character begotten, only the use of it is forbidden; yet he that neglects that Interdict, though he becomes very guilty, begets a new Character on the person Ordained by him: Therefore Hereticks
or

“ or Schismatiques so Ordained, need no new Ordination, but
 “ only a Reconciliation ; and what is said of Heretiques and
 “ Schismatiques, does hold much more of those who are Or-
 “ dained by persons that are Excommunicated, deposed, or de-
 “ graded. And for those things that are essential to Ordinati-
 on, enough has been said already to demonstrate what they be ;
 to which I shall only add what that Author, the most learned of
 all that ever treated of this Subject, says in the beginning of
 the next Chapter. *In the Rite of Holy Ordination, there are some
 things of Divine Institution and Tradition, which do always and in all
 places belong to Holy Orders ; such as Imposition of hands, and a con-
 venient Prayer which the Scripture has delivered, and the universal
 practice of the Church has confirmed.* Now these our Church has
 retained ; and therefore from all that has been said, I may with
 good reason conclude, that all the Ordinations that were derived
 from Archbishop *Cranmer*, having (as has been already shewed)
 the Essentials of Ordination ; and being done with the due
 numbers of Ordainers (as can be proved Authentically from the
 publick Registers) must be good and valid. And though we
 have separated from many errors and corruptions of the Church
 of *Rome*, and in particular have thrown out many Superstitious
 Rites out of the Forms of Ordination, that we might reduce
 these to a primitive simplicity ; yet as we acknowledg the
 Church of *Rome* holds still the Fundamentals of the Christian
 Religion ; so we confess she retains the Essentials of Ordination,
 which are the separating of persons for Sacred Employments,
 and the authorizing them with an Imposition of hands, and a
 Prayer for the effusion of the Holy Ghost ; therefore we do
 not annul their Orders, but receive such as come from that
 Church, and look on them as true Priests by the Ordination
 they got among them, and such were our first Reformers, from
 whom we have derived our Ordination.

Having followed this Paper through the first Conclusion, and
 the Arguments brought to confirm it ; I come now to the se-
 cond ; which is, That our Bishops are not true Bishops. For
 which his first Argument is,

That our Bishops being no Priests, they can be no Bishops.
 This he thinks he has already proved, therefore he sets himself
 to prove that none can be a Bishop till he be first a Priest : About
 this I shall not dispute much ; for we acknowledg that Regu-
 larly

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larly and Canonically it must be so, and assert that ours were truly such; therefore we need not contend further about this; though he must be very ignorant of Antiquity if he does not know that there are divers instances in Church-History of Laymen, nay, and Catechumens chosen Bishops; and we do not find those Intermedial steps were made of Ordaining them first Deacons, and then Priests, but by what appears to us, they at once made them Bishops. But I shall wave this, only I must put this Author in mind of a great Oversight he is guilty of, when he goes about to prove our Bishops not to be true Bishops, because they were not true Priests: Does he not know that Bishop Ridley, and the other Bishops of King Edward's days, were Ordained Priests by the Rites of the Church of Rome? And this was acknowledged by themselves, when they degraded them at Oxford, before they suffered; if those then were Priests, this is no Argument why they might not be Bishops: For in this matter, that which we ought to enquire into most carefully, is what they were; for if they were both Priests and Bishops, and if the Forms by which they Ordained others, retained all the Essential Requisites, then we who are derived from them, are also true Priests and Bishops.

His second Argument is, No Ordination is valid, unless there be fit words used to determine the outward Rites, to signify the Order given, which he says our own Writers (Mr. Masen, and Dr. Bramhall) do acknowledg. But the words of Consecration do not express this, they being only, *Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace, &c.* which do not express the Office of a Bishop; and having proposed these Arguments, that the unlearned Reader may think he deals fairly, he goes on to set down our Objections, and answer them.

First, It has been already made out that the Form, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, was that which our Saviour made use of when he Ordained the Apostles, without adding, *To the Office of an Apostle*. For which it is to be considered, that all Ecclesiastical Orders being from the influence and operation of the Holy Ghost, which

1 Cor. 12.5,6.

being one, yet hath *different Operations* for the *different Administrations*; therefore the concomitant Actions, Words and Circumstances must shew, for which Administration the Holy Ghost is prayed for, since that general Prayer is made for all; but the Functions being different, the same Holy Ghost

Ghost works differently in them all. Therefore it is plain from the practice of our Saviour, that there is no need of expressing in the very words of Ordination, what power is thereby given, since our Saviour did not express it, but what he had said both before and after, did determine the sense of those general words to the Apostolical Function.

Secondly, The whole Office of Consecrating Bishops, shews very formally and expressly what power is given in these words. Now tho the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, would place the Form of Consecration in some Imperative words; yet we see no reason for that, but the complex of the whole Office is that which is to be chiefly considered, and must determine the sense of those words; So that a Priest being presented to be made a Bishop, the King's Mandate being read for that effect, he swearing Canonical obedience as Bishop Elect, Prayers being put up for him as such, together with other circumstances which make it plain what they are about; those general words are by these qualified and restrained to that sense.

We do not fly here to a secret and unknown Intention of the Consecrators, as the Church of *Rome* does, but to the open and declared intention of the Church appearing in this: So that it is clear that the sense of those general words is so well explained, that they do sufficiently express and give the power and office of a Bishop.

Thirdly, In the Church of *Rome* the Consecration of a Bishop is made with these words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, This being all that is said at the Imposition of hands, which as has been already proved, is the matter or sensible sign of Orders. And in the Prayer that follows these words, there is no mention made of the Episcopal Dignity or Function, and all the other Ceremonies used in the Consecration of a Bishop, are but Rites that are added for the more Solemnity, but are not of the essence of Ordination according to what is now most generally received; even in their own Church. And *Vasques* does set down this very Objection against the form of their Episcopal Ordination, as not sufficient, because it does not specify the Episcopal power; to which he answers, that though the words express it not; yet the other circumstances that accompany them do it sufficiently; by which it appears that this Argument is as strong against their Ordination as ours; and that they must make use of the same Answers that we give to it.

Disp. 240. c. 5.
n. 60.

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Fourthly, The ancient Forms of Consecrating Bishops, differing so much one from another, and indeed agreeing in nothing but in an Imposition of hands, with a convenient Prayer; it has been already made out that there is no particular Form so necessary, that the want of it annuls Orders, and that the Church has often changed the words of these Prayers upon several occasions; and it was ever thought that if the words do sufficiently express the mind of the Church, there was no more scruple to be made of the validity of the Orders so given; for if the Episcopal Character were begotten by any of those Rites which the Church of Rome has added of late, such as the Chrism, the giving the Gospels, the Ring, the Staff, or any other set down in the *Pontifical*, then there were no true Bishops in the Church for many Ages. In the most Ancient *Latin* Ritual now to be found, there is nothing in the Consecration of a Bishop, but the Prayer which is now marked for the Anthem after the Consecration in the *Pontifical*. In a Ritual believed to be 800 year old, the anointing is first to be found, but there is no other Rite with it. In another Ritual somewhat later than the former, the giving the Ring and the Staff, were used, which at first were the Civil Ceremonies of Investiture; and in the *Greek* Church, none of those Rites were ever used, they having only an Imposition of hands, and saying with it, *The Divine Grace that heals the things that are weak, and perfects the things that are imperfect; promotes this very Reverend Priest to be a Bishop: Let us therefore pray that the Grace of the Holy Ghost may come upon him*; then all that are assisting, say Thrice, *Kyrie Eleison*. Then the Consecrator lays the Gospels on the head and neck of him that is Consecrated, having before Signed his head Thrice with the sign of the Cross; and all the other Bishops touch the Gospels, and there is a Prayer said. And thus it is clear, that if those Rites in the *Pontifical* be essential to Episcopal Orders, neither the Primitive Church nor the *Greek* Churches gave them truly, which are things they cannot admit: Therefore it is most disingenuously done of them to insinuate on unlearned persons, that our Orders are not good, when in their Consciences they know that they have all those Requisites in them, which by the Principles of the most Learned men of their own Church, are essentially and absolutely necessary to make them good and valid.

*Deus Honorum
omnium 7.*

But

But I go next to see what Ingenuity there is in the Objections which he sets down in our Name against the former Arguments. There is nothing in which any man that writes of Controversie, shews his candor and fair dealing, more than in proposing the Arguments of the adverse party with their full and just weight in them; and it is a piece of Justice and moral Honesty, to which men are obliged: For to pretend that one brings what may be objected against his Opinion, and then not to set down any strong and material Arguments, but on the contrary, to bring some trifling and ridiculous things that no Learned persons did ever make use of, is to Lye: And really I cannot think the Writer of this Paper has common honesty in him, that will pretend to set down our Objections, and yet passes them over every one. Our Arguments are drawn, 1. From Christs own practices. 2. From the practice of the Apostles and the Primitive Church. 3. From the practice of the *Greek Church* at this day. 4. From the Doctrine and the practice of the Church of *Rome*. These are the Arguments on which our Cause does rest, and upon these Authorities we are ready to put the thing to an Issue. But he was wiser than to mention any of those, for he knew he could not get off them so well; and therefore that he might deceive those that are ready to take any thing off his hands upon trust, he brings Objections which he knows none of us will make.

To the first I need say nothing, having, I presume, said enough already, to shew that both our Priestly and Episcopal Orders are good and valid.

But his second is such a piece of foul dealing, that really he deserves to be very sharply reprov'd for it. In it he makes us object, That tho the form of our Ordination since King *Edward the 6th*, his days, till his Majesties happy Restauration, was invalid; yet that is salv'd by the Parliament that now sits, that appointed the words of Ordination to be, *Receive the Holy Ghost, for the Office of a Priest, or, for the office of a Bishop*. And having set up this Man of Straw, he runs unmercifully at him, he stabs him in at the heart, he shoots him through the head, and then to make sure work of him, he cuts him all to pieces that he shall never live nor speak again; and all this out of pure Chivalry to shew his valour. He tells us the Salve is worse than the Sore; that by the change, the Form used before is confessed to be in-

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valid; else why did they change it? He tells us, Secondly, By this we acknowledge all our Bishops and Priests till that time to be null. Thirdly, That they not being true Bishops, cannot Ordain validly, for no man can give what he has not. And fourthly, The power that Act gives, is only from the Parliament, and not from Christ; and this destroys our Orders, Root and Branch. So there is an end of us, we are all killed upon the spot, never to live more. Yet there is no harm done, nor blood spilt, all is safe and sound. But to satisfy any person whom such a scruple may trouble; Let it be considered,

First, That we pretend not that there is any greater validity in our Orders since the last Act of Uniformity, than was before; for those words that are added, are not Essential to the Ordination, but only further and clearer Explanations of what was clear enough by the other parts of these Offices, before: Therefore there is no change made of any thing that was Essential to our Ordinations, an Explanation is not a change; for did the Fathers of the Councils of *Nice* and *Constantinople* change or annul the Faith and Creeds that the Church used before, when they added Explanations to the Creed. Therefore the adding of some explanatory words for cutting off the occasions of Cavilling, is neither a change, nor an annulling our former Orders.

Secondly, The change of the Form of Consecration does not infer an annulling of Orders given another way, for then all the Ordinations used in the Primitive Church, are annulled by the *Roman* Church at this day, since the forms of Ordination used by them now, were not used in the former Ages; and the Forms used in the former Ages are not looked on by them now to be the Forms of Consecration, but are only made parts of the Office, and used as Collects or Anthems; and yet here is a real change, which by their own Principles cannot infer a nullity of Orders given before the Change made.

Thirdly, If the addition of a few explanatory words invalidates former Orders, then the adding many new Rites, which were neither used by Christ nor his Apostles, nor the Primitive nor Eastern Churches, will much more invalidate former Orders, especially when these are believed to be so Essential as that they confer the power of Consecrating Christ's Body and Blood,
and

and of offering Sacrifices, and were for divers Ages universally looked on in that Church to be the Matter and Form of Orders, as was already observed of the Rite of giving the Sacred Vessels with the words joyned to it, which Pope *Eugenius* in expresse words, calls the Matter of Priestly Orders, and the words joyned to them the Form (in his Decree for the *Armenians* in the Council of *Florence*) and even the Form he mentions is also altered now, for the celebrating Masses are not in the Form he mentions, but are now added to that part of the Office in the *Roman Church*. Let the Pontifical be considered, in the Ordination of Priests; we find the *Priestly Vestments* given, both the *Stole* and the *Casula*, then *their hands are anointed*; then *the Vessels of the Sacrament are delivered to them*, with words pronounced in every of those Rites, besides many other lesser Rites that are in the *Rubrick*. In the Consecration of a Bishop, *his head is Anointed*, then *his hands*, then *his Pastoral Staff is blessed and put in his hands*; next *the Ring is blessed, and put on his finger*, then *the Gospels are put in his hands*, then *the Mitre is blessed, and put on his head*; next *the Gloves are blessed, and put on his hands, and then they set him on his Throne*: Besides many lesser Rites to be seen in the *Rubrick*. Now with what face can they pretend that our adding a few explanatory words, can infer the annulling all Orders given before that addition, when they have added so many material Ceremonies in which they place great significancy and vertue? Is not this to *swallow a Camel, and to strain at a Gnat*? and to object to us *a Mote in our eye*, when there is *a Beam in their own eye*?

Fourthly, This Addition was indeed confirmed by the Authority of Parliament, and there was good reason to desire that; to give it the force of a Law; but the authority of these changes is wholly to be derived from the Convocation, who only consulted about them, and made them, and the Parliament did take that care in the Enacting them, that might shew they did only add the force of a Law to them; for in passing them; it was Ordered that the Book of Common-Prayer and Ordination should only be read over (and even that was carried upon some debate; for many as I have been told, moved that the Book should be added to the Act, as it was sent to the Parliament from the Convocation, without ever reading it; but that seemed indecent, and too implicate to others) and

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there was no change made in a Tittle by the Parliament. So that they only Enacted by a Law what the Convocation had done.

As for what he adds, that the Book of Ordination is not to be found in every Edition of the Common-Prayer-Book, with his gloss upon it, that *most think the Bishops for shame suppress it*. Really the Writer of this Paper must pardon me, to say, it seems he has no shame, that can set down in writing such a disingenuous Allegation: Pray who are these *most that think so*? [*Most*] in our Language stands for the [*greater part*]; now how many can he find that agree with him in this Gloss? I doubt, very few; for I am sure, not all his own Party, and not one of ours. So that upon a Calculation, those *Most think*, will be found to be no more but himself and a very few ignorant persons on whom he has imposed this conceit. Every body knows that when a Book is once printed by publick Authority, and universally sold in the Shops, those in Authority cannot out of shame study to suppress it. But the use of the Book of Ordination not being so universal as are the other Offices of the Church; the Stationers and Printers, who do chiefly consider their Interest in the ready Sale and vent of Books, do not Print so many of them as of the other, there being at least five hundred that use the Common-Prayer, for one that needs the other; and a Common-Prayer-Book without it, will sell cheaper than with it; therefore a great many Copies have it not. This is not as *Most think*, but as *every body knows*, the true reason why in many Copies of the Common-Prayer-Book, the Ordinal is wanting. Let him name one Bishop that would not permit it to be dispersed abroad, or let him be looked on as a bold and impudent Slanderer.

Thus far I have followed this Paper in the two first Conclusions; and now I come to the Third; which is,

That Protestant Ministers and Bishops have no power to Preach, &c. from Christ, but only from the Parliament.

And this he proves, because they have no more power than the first Protestant Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, *Matthew Parker* had, from whom all Jurisdiction was derived to the rest; Now he had no power from Christ; for first, They that Consecrated him, had no such Jurisdiction, being no actual Bishops, two of them were only *Elders*, and not *actual Bishops*,

Bishops; and a Third only a *quondam Bishop*, but had no actual Jurisdiction; and a Fourth was a *Suffragan Bishop* to *Canterbury*, who had no Jurisdiction but what he had from the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, much less Authority to give him Jurisdiction over himself and all the other Bishops of the Land, because none can give what he has not.

This I must confess is such a piece, that no man can read it, but he must conclude the Writer of it has no sort of Ecclesiastical Learning, or else has very little Moral honesty. I need not tell him that *Matthew Parker* was not the first Protestant *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*; he knows *Arch-Bishop Cranmer* was both a Protestant and *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*; but this may be easily passed over, there being more material Errors in this period. And

First, Does he believe himself when he says that none can install a Bishop in a Jurisdiction above himself? Pray then who invests the Popes with their Jurisdiction? Do not the Cardinals do it? And are not they as much the Popes Suffragans as *Hodgkins* was *Canterburies*. So that if inferiors cannot invest one with a superior Jurisdiction, then the Popes can have none legally, since they have theirs from the Cardinals that are inferior in Jurisdiction. This also holds in all the Patriarchal Consecration. For Instance, when *John* commonly called *Chrysostome*, a Priest of *Antioch*, was chosen Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and Consecrated by the Bishops of that Province according to the Canons; if there be any force in this Argument, it will annul his Orders as well as *Arch-Bishop Parker's*, or the Writer must needs see the case is Parallel.

Secondly, Or if he insists upon their being Elect to others Sees, and that one of them had no See at all. Let me ask him, If when *St. Athanasie* was banished out of *Alexandria*, and others thrust in his place; or when *Liberius* was banished out of *Rome*, and *Felix* (whom they acknowledged a Righteous Bishop) put in his place, they had ordained Priests and Bishops, had these Orders been null, because they were violently thrust out of their Sees? Certainly Persecution and Violence rather makes the glory of Ecclesiastical Functions shine more brightly, but cannot be imagined to strip them of their Character, and to disable them for exercising the Offices of their Function.

Thirdly,

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Thirdly, There are Two things to be considered in the Consecration of a P.imate, the one is the giving him the Order of a Bishop, the other is the investing him with the Jurisdiction of a Metropolitan; for the former, all Bishops are equal in Order, none has more or less than another: Therefore any Bishop duly Consecrated, how mean soever his Diocese be, is no less a Bishop than the greatest; the Bishop of *Man* is a Bishop as well as the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; so that the Consecrators of *Matthew Parker* being Bishops by their Order, they had sufficient power and authority to Consecrate him. By which it appears there can be no question made of his being truly a Bishop. And as for his Jurisdiction, Two things are also to be considered; the one is, The Jurisdiction annexed to that See. The other is, his being rightly clothed and invested with it. For the former, it cannot be denied but the Jurisdiction of Metropolitans, Primates, and Patriarchs, has no divine Institution: for all that any Bishop has by divine Institution, is to feed the flock of his own Diocese, but the Canons and practice of the Church and the Civil Laws, have introduced a further Jurisdiction over the Bishops of a District or Province; this did rise by Custom upon the division of the Provinces of the *Roman Empire*, and was settled over the World before any General Council did meet to make Decrees about it: And therefore the Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, only approved what they found practised, and confirmed some new Divisions of Provinces, that were made by the Emperors; and so the Kings in the Western Church did first give those Preeminences to some Towns and Sees; for the original Dignity of Sees rose out of the Dignity of the Towns, which appears clearly in all the Patriarchates, chiefly in that of *Rome* and *Constantinople*. This is a thing so fully inquired into by many, but chiefly by the most Learned *Petrus de Marca* Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, that I need say no more of it. And the Dignity of the See of *Canterbury* was from King *Eschelbert*, who first erected that See. It is true, the Popes did afterwards usurp a new Jurisdiction over all Churches; they took upon them to Judge of the Dignity of all Sees, to send the *Pall*, to have reserved Cases, to grant Exemptions to the Regulars, with many other Encroachments on the Episcopal Jurisdiction, which has been very fully inquired into, not only by Protestant Writers, but by many of the *Roman*

*De Concor.
Epi & Sacer.*

man Communion, chiefly those of the *Gallicane* Church, and many of the Bishops at the Council of *Trent*, studied to recover their Liberties that were troden under foot by the Court of *Rome*, but the Intrigues and cunning of that Court were too hard for them.

The other thing in Episcopal Institution, is the installing or inthroning the Metropolitan; that this was always done by the Bishops of the Province, is a thing so clear in Antiquity, that I am sure no Man ever questioned it. Was not the famous Decision of the Council of *Ephesus* in the case of the *Cypriotie* Bishops a full proof of this, when upon the pretension of the Patriarch of *Antioch*, the thing was examined, and it was found that he had never used to ordain Bishops there; and therefore the Rites to the Bishop of *Constantia* the Metropolitan were confirmed to him by that General Council: nor can one Instance be shewed in the first three Ages of a Metropolitan coming to be ordained by a Patriarch, as was afterwards for Orders-sake appointed. And this appears more evidently by a Canon of the Council of *Orleans*, where it was decreed, *That in the Ordination of Metropolitans the Ancient Custom should be renewed, which was generally neglected and lost, that a Metropolitan being elected by the Bishops of the Province with the Clergy, and the People, should be ordained by all the Bishops of the Province met together*; This was *Anno* 538. By which we see they thought not of any Bull or Confirmation from *Rome*, but that Bishops, though subject to the Metropolitan's Jurisdiction, might ordain him.

It is true, afterwards the Patriarchs chose the Metropolitans, but the Patriarchs were either chosen, or at least confirmed by the Emperor; and tho they sent Circulatory Letters to the Pope and the other Patriarchs to confirm their Elections (which the Bishops of *Rome* did likewise to them) this was only for keeping up the Unity of the Church, and for a more friendly and brotherly Correspondence, but was not of necessity, or as an homage which they owed the Pope; much less did they delay their Consecration till they obtained his Mandate, or abstain from any Act of Jurisdiction till they had his Confirmation, as is now appointed by the Pontifical, till they get the *Pall*. I have not given you the trouble of enlarging on many Proofs for making these things out, for they

Action 7.

Can. 7.

De Pallio.

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are so clear and uncontested, that I am confident no Man is so disingenuous as to deny them under his hand, whatever some may whisper among illiterate Persons who cannot contradict them. And though there has been so much already written to make those particulars out, that more needs not, and indeed cannot be said; yet if these things be questioned by any body, I shall make them out fully.

And now I come to his second Argument: which is, That *Matthew Parker* (and all the other Protestant Bishops since his days) had his power of Jurisdiction only from the Queen, as appears by the Queens Letters Patents, and the form of his Ordination, which was done upon the Queen's Mandate without any *Bull* from the Pope (in which she acknowledges Cardinal *Pool* to have been a righteous Arch-bishop; and so confesses Catholick Ordination and Jurisdiction to be lawful, valid, and good) which was necessary by the Laws of *England*; as appears from her Mandate in which she supplies any Defects they might have been under. Now all the Authority the Queen had, flowed from the Parliament, which annexed all Jurisdiction Spiritual or Temporal over the Ecclesiastical State of this Realm to the Crown, by which they made her Pope: So that by the very words of the Act, *Matthew Parker* had his Jurisdiction from the Queen, and she hers from the Parliament: Therefore the Protestant Priests and Bishops are only *Parliamentary Priests and Bishops*, and are not from Christ and his Church, but from their Kings, Queen, and Parliaments.

Here is such a heap of things so unjustly and weakly said, that it must needs grieve all honest Men to see a company of Priests going up and down the Kingdom studying to abuse weak and unlearned Persons with such disingenuous Stories or Writings. Which I hope will appear more fully if you consider the following Particulars.

First; It is certain that King and Parliament have the Supreme Legislative Authority in this Realm; and this they have from the Laws of God, Nature, and Society, confirmed by the Gospel, which commands us *to be subject to the Higher Powers*. Therefore whatever they enact that is within the Limits of their Jurisdiction, is Law; and if it be not sinful, is to be obeyed; if it be sinful, it is to be submitted to. For instance, if they set up a false Religion by Law, it does not make it a

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true Religion, but adds the Sanction of Law, and is the Civil Warrant and Security for the Subject : therefore the Civil Power cannot change the nature of things, to make Good Evil, or Evil Good ; but only gives Authority and Security ; and in this they are restrained in things Civil as well as Spiritual, for if they make unjust Laws in Civil things, the case is the same with their unjust Laws about Spirituals. Therefore it is to be concluded as the Fundamental Maxim of Civil Government, that whatever may be done lawfully and without Sin, ought to be done when the Supream Civil Authority commands it, and that the Subjects ought to obey.

Secondly ; Whosoever is empower'd by the King and Parliament to execute this their Supream Authority, has a full Right and Title to apply that Power so given or committed to him, having the execution of that Law put in his hands ; and if any shall without their Warrant, or Authority from them, usurp or assume any sort of Power or Jurisdiction within this Kingdom, they are Intruders and Usurpers, and the success they have in it does no more justify that Force, than a Robber's does his Title to Goods unjustly taken. And altho some weak Princes in hard times did yield it up to the Pope ; yet both the Clergy themselves and the Parliaments, did often assert their own Authority, which was most eminently done by King *Edward* the First, and King *Edward* the Third : So that the Popes Power here had no just Title, but was a violent Invasion ; for that they neither had it from Christ nor Saint *Peter*, nor by any Decree of General Councils ; and that for 800 Years after Christ it was never allowed them : that they never had it in the Eastern Churches, and that what they had in the Western Churches, was only extorted by force and fraud from the Princes and States of *Europe*, and that they had no Law for it in *England*, are things so uncertain, that for proof of this, I shall refer my self to the Writers of their own Church, *De Marca*, *Lainoy*, and *Balufius*, with many others. And at this very day the Pope has neither more nor less Power in the other Kingdoms of *Europe*, than the Connivance of Princes or the Laws give him : Therefore the Pope had no Power in *England* but what was unjustly usurped from the King and Parliament.

Thirdly ; When the Supream Authority the King and Parliament have long endured an Enchroachment upon them, that gives no just Title to it, nor hinders them from asserting their own Rights when they find a fit opportunity for it, and neither devests them of their Authority, nor the Subjects of their due Rights and Freedoms : Therefore the Government of the Kingdom, and all the exercise of coercive Jurisdiction being inseparably annexed to the Supream Authority, it was incumbent on them to shake off all Foreign Jurisdiction : they should have done it sooner, but could never do it too late.

Fourthly ; The King and Parliament asserting their Authority in this particular, and condemning the Pope's Usurpations, they might commit the execution of it to whom they would : Therefore they putting it into the Queen's hands and her Successors, she had a good Right to exercise it, having a Law for it. This then being annexed to the Imperial Crown of the Realm by the Supream Authority of King and Parliament, the King hath the Power of exercising it fully and only in his hands, and is to be obeyed in all his Injunctions (that are not sinful) by the Laws of the Supream Authority in this Kingdom which comes from God, and is confirmed by the Gospel.

Fifthly ; Tho the power of the Ministers of the Gospel comes only from Christ, yet the exercise of that Power, and this or that Person being put in this or that Living or Preferment, and having the right to the Tythes, and all the Jurisdiction of the Spiritual and Prerogative Courts, being things not appointed in the Gospel, the King having the Supremacy over the Ecclesiastical State, does not exceed his Limits when he reserves to himself such Power that no Person shall be invested with the Legal Authority for those things, but by his Knowledge, or upon his Order. It is true, he cannot make a Man a Bishop or a Priest, nor can he take away Orders ; for if Bishops should ordain or consecrate without or against his pleasure, he may proceed against both the Ordainers and Ordained, and can hinder their exercising any Function in his Dominions by banishing or imprisoning them, but he cannot destroy or annul their Orders. So that the Power of Ordination comes from Christ, and has a Spiritual Effect, whatever opposition the King may make,

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but

but the exercise of that Power must be had from him. If the King commands an Heretick or a scandalous Person to be Elected or Ordained, Churchmen may well demur, and offer their Reasons why they cannot give Obedience, not for the want of Authority in the King, but because the Matter is morally Evil : As they must also do, if the King should command them, to commit Theft or Murther. So that all Consecrations in this Land are made by Bishops, by the Power that is inherent in them, only the King gives Orders for the execution of that their Power : Therefore all that the Queen did in the Case of *Mat. Parker*, and the Kings do since, was to command so many Bishops to exercise a Power they had from Christ in such or such Instances, which Command was Just and Good, if the Persons to be Ordained were so qualified as they ought to have been according to the Scriptures.

Sixthly ; Though the Command were unjust, yet that cannot be imagined a sufficient Ground to annul the Ordination ; for otherwise all the Ordinations appointed by the Anti-Popes of *Avignon* were null, since done upon Mandates from a false Pope who had not Power, which will annul all the Ordinations of the *Gallicane* Church which did submit to these Popes. And yet this cannot be admitted by the Church of *Rome*, unless they also annul all the Eastern Bishops ; for the Patriarch of *Constantinople* is made by Order from the Grand Signior, and is upon that installed. If this therefore invalidates our Ordinations, it will do theirs much more, except they will allow a greater Power to the *Turk* than to the King. So that this at most might prove the Church to be under an unjust Violence, but cannot infer an invalidating of Acts so done : therefore if *Matthew Parker* was duly consecrated, tho it was done upon the Queen's Mandate, he was a true and lawful Bishop. For let me suppose another Case parallel to this ; If the Clergy should resolve they will no more administer the Sacraments upon the pretence perhaps of *Interdicts*, *Censures*, or some such thing. And the Prince or State commands them to administer the Sacraments (as was done by the *Venetians* in the time of the Interdict, and by many Kings in the like cases) can it be pretended that the Sacraments they administer upon such Commands are not the Sacraments of Christ, but

but only of the King. So in like manner Orders, given upon the King's Mandate by Persons empowered to it by Christ and the Church, are true Orders, even tho the Mandate for them were unjust, tyrannical, and illegal.

Seventhly; Besides all that has been said, it is to be considered, that the power of chusing Bishops was in all Ages thought at most a mixed thing, in which Laymen as well as Churchmen had a share. It is well enough known, that for the first three Centuries, the Elections were made by the People, and the Bishops that came to assist in those Elections, did confirm their Choice, and consecrate the Person by them Elected. Now, whatever is a Right of the People, they can by Law transfer it on another. So in our Case, the People of this Realm having in Parliament annexed the Power of chusing Bishops to the Crown, by which their Right is now in the King's Person; Consecrations upon his Nomination must either be good and valid, or all the Consecrations of the first Ages of the Church shall likewise be annulled, since he has now as good a right to name the Persons that are to be Consecrated, as the People then had. It is true, the Tumults and other discandal Orders in those Elections, brought great scandal on the Church, and so they were taken away, and Synodical Elections were set up; but as the former Ordinations were good before these were set up, so it cannot be said that these are indispensibly necessary, otherwise there are no good Ordinations at this day in the Church of *Rome*; these being all now put down, the Pope having, among his other Usurpations, taken that into his own hands.

Eighthly; It is also known how much Christian Princes, Emperors and Kings, in all Ages and Places, have meddled in the Election of Bishops: I need not tell how a Synod desired *Valentinian* to chuse a Bishop at *Millan*, when *St. Ambrose* was chosen, nor how *Theodosius* chose *Nestarius* to be Patriarch of *Constantinople*, even when the second General Council was sitting. Nor need I tell the Law *Justinian* made, that there should be Three presented to the Emperor in the Elections of the Patriarch, and he should chuse one of them. These things are generally known, and I need not insist on them. It is true; as there followed great confusions in the *Greek Empire*, till

till it was quite over-run and destroyed ; so there was scarce any one thing in which there was more doing and undoing than in the Election of the Patriarchs, the Emperors often did it by their own Authority ; Synodal Elections were also often set up, at length the Emperors brought it to that, that they delivered the Pastoral Staff to the Bishop, by which he was invested in his Patriarchat ; but it was never pretended, neither by the *Latin Church*, nor by the contrary Factions in the *Greek Church*, that Orders so given were Null. And yet the Emperor giving the Investiture with his own hand, is a far greater thing than our King's granting a Mandate for Consecrating and Investing them. For proof of this about the *Greek Church*, I refer it to *Habert* who has given a full Deduction of the Elections in that Church, from the days of the Apostles to the last Age.

Tit. 17. Rit. Elect. Patr.

For the *Latin Church*, the Matter has been so oft examined, that it is to no purpose to spend much time about it. It is known and confessed by *Platina*, that the Emperor's Authority intervened when the Popes were created. And *Onuphrius* tells, that by a Decree of *Vigilius* the Custom had got in, that the Elected Pope should not be Consecrated till the Emperor had confirmed it, and had by his Letters Patents given the Elect Pope leave to be ordained, and that Licence was either granted by the Emperors themselves, or by their Lieutenants [or *Exarchs*] at *Ravenna* : And One and twenty Popes were thus Consecrated, *Pelagius* the second only excepted, who being chosen during the Siege of *Rome*, did not stay for it, but he sent *Gregory* (afterwards Pope) to excuse it to the Emperor, who was offended with it ; it continued thus till the days of *Constantine*, called *Pogonatus*, who first remitted it to *Benedict* the Second, and the truth of it was, the Power of the *Greek Emperors* was then fallen so low in *Italy*, that no wonder he parted with it. But so soon as the Empire was again set up in the West by *Charles the Great*, Pope *Adrian* with a Synod, gave him the Power of creating the Pope (as is set down in the very Canon Law it self) and of investing all other Arch-Bishops and Bishops, and an Anathema was pronounced against any that should Consecrate a Bishop that was not named and invested by him. This is likewise told by

In Vita Sylvestri. Is Plat. in Platag. 2.

Dist. 63.

In Pasc. 1.

Platina

To Lib. 4.

Platina out of *Anastasius*. It is true, tho some Popes were thus chosen, yet the weakness of *Charles* the Great's Son, and the Divisions of his Children, with the Degeneracy of that whole Race, served the Ends of the growing Power of the Papacy. Yet *Lewis* laid it down, not as an Usurpation, but as a Right of which he divested himself: but his Son *Lothaire* reassumed it, and did confirm divers Popes; and *Anastasius* tells us that they durst not Consecrate the Pope without the Imperial Authority; and the thing was still kept up, at least in a shadow, till *Hadrian* the Third, who appointed that the Emperor's Concurrence or Licence should not be thought necessary in the creating of a Pope. And from *Hadrian* the First, who died *Anno* 795, till *Hadrian* the Third, there were 89 Years; and from *Vigilius* his days, who died *Anno* 555, there were 330 Years. So long were the Popes made upon the Emperors Mandates. Nor did the Emperors part easily with this Right, but after that the *Otho's* and the *Henry's* kept up their Pretension, and came oft to *Rome*, and made many Popes; and though most of the Popes so made were generally reckoned Anti-Popes and Schismatics, yet some of them, as *Clement* the Second, are put in the Catalogue of the Popes by *Baronius* and *Biunius*; and by the late Publishers of the Councils, *Labbée* and *Cossartius*: There was indeed great opposition made to this at *Rome*; but let even their own Historians be appealed to, what a Series of Monsters, and not Men, those Popes were; how infamously they were Elected, often by the Whores of *Rome*, and how flagitious they were, we refer it to *Baronius* himself, who could not deny this for all his partiality in his great Work. But in the end Pope *Gregory* the Seventh got the better of the Emperors in this Particular.

And now let the Ingenuity of those Men be considered, who endeavour to Invalidate our Orders, and call our Priests and Bishops *Parliamentary Priests and Bishops*, because they are made upon the King's Mandate according to the Act of Parliament. When it is clear that for near 500 Years together, their own Popes were Consecrated for the most part upon the Emperor's Mandate. And it is certain the Kings of *England* have as much Power to do the same here, as the Emperors had to do it at *Rome*.

The

The Emperors were wont also to grant the Investitures into all the Bishopricks, by giving the Ring and the Staff, which were the Ceremonies of the Investiture, and so they both named and invested all the Bishops and Abbots. This Pope Gregory the Seventh thought was no more to be suffered than their creating the Popes, both being done by the same Authority : Therefore he resolved to wring them out of the Emperor's hands, and take them into his own ; and it was no wonder he had a great mind to bring this about, for the Bishopricks and Abbeys were then so richly endowed, that it was the Conquest of almost the third part of the Empire, to draw the giving of them into his own Hands. Therefore he first disgraced these Laical Investitures by an ill name to make them sound odiously, and called all so Ordained, *Simoniack*, as he also called the Married Clergy, *Nicolaitans*. Now every body knows how much any thing suffers by a scurvy Nick-name raised on it. But he went more roundly to work, and deposed the Emperor, and absolved his Subjects from their obedience. What bloody Wars and unnatural Rebellions of the Children against the Father, followed by the Popes instigation, is well enough known. In the end ; his Son that succeeded him was forced to yield up the matter to the Pope.

In *Spain* it appears both from the 12th and 16th Councils of *Toledo*, that the Kings there did chuse the Bishops, which *Baronius* does freely confess.

Can. 6.
Can. 12.
Ad Anno 681.
Numb. 60.

And *Gregory of Tours*, through his whole History, gives so many Instances of the Kings of *France* of the *Merovian* Race, chusing and naming the Bishops, that it cannot be questioned ; all the Writers of the *Gallican* Church do also assert that their Kings gave the Investitures from the days of *Charles the Great*. But the Popes were still making Inroads upon their Authority ; for securing which *Charles the Seventh* caused the *Pragmatic Sanction* to be made. It is true, afterwards, Pope *Leo the Tenth* got *Francis the First* to set up the *Concordate* in its place ; against which the Assembly of the Clergy at *Paris* did complain, and appealed to a General Council, and yet by the *Concordate* the King retains still the Power of naming the Bishops.

In *England* there are some Instances of the *Saxon* Kings chusing Bishops ; and though so little remains of the Records

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or

A Vindication of the Ordinations

or Histories of that Time, that it is no wonder if we meet but few. Yet it is clear, that King *William* the Conqueror, and both his Sons, did give the Investitures to the Bishops; and though upon a Contest between King *Henry* the First and *Anselm* about them, the King did yield them to him; yet upon *Anselm*'s death, he did re-assume that Power: I need need not say more to shew what were the Rights of the Crown in this Matter, nor how oft they were asserted in Parliament, nor how many Laws were made against the Incroachments and tyrannical Exactions of the Court of *Rome*; these are now so commonly known, and have been so oft printed of late, that I need add nothing about them. Only from all I have said, I suppose it is indisputably clear, That if Ordinations or Consecrations upon the King's Mandate, be invalid, which this Paper drives at, then all the Ordinations of the Christian Church are also annulled, since for many Ages they were all made upon the Mandates of Emperors and Kings. By all which you may see the great weakness of this Argument.

I shall to this add some Remarks on a few Particulars of less weight, that are insinuated in this Argument.

First, The Writer of it would infer, from the Queen's calling Cardinal *Pool* the late and immediate Arch-Bishop and Pastor of *Canterbury*, that we acknowledg Catholick Ordination valid, lawful, and good. If by *Valid, Lawful, and Good*, be understood that which retained the Essentials of Ordination, and was according to the then Law, there is no doubt to be made of it; but if he mean that all the Forms and Ceremonies of their Ordination are acknowledged to be Good, he will never draw that Inference from these words.

Secondly, From the Clause of the Patents, that is, for supplying all Defects, considering the Necessity of the Times, he would infer, there was somewhat wanting in them which was thereby supplied: If by that [*Want*] he means an essential Defect, there was none such, for they were true Bishops. If he means only, that some things were not according to what the Law required, it is of no Force, for whoever makes a Law, can also dispense with it: Therefore the execution of these Laws being put in the Queen's hands, she might well dispense with some Particulars; all which the Parliament did afterwards confirm, and any defect in the point of Law might make

make them liable to the Civil Powers ; but it can by no means be pretended that this should annul the Ordinations, though illegally gone about.

Thirdly, He would infer from the Act of Parliament, that the Queen is made Pope, when he knows that both by one of the Articles of the Church, and another Act of Parliament, it is declared otherwise in exprefs words as follows ; ‘ Where
‘ we attribute to the Queen’s Majesty the chief Government ;
‘ by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous
‘ Folks to be offended ; we give not to our Princes the Ministry, either of God’s Word, or of the Sacraments ; the
‘ which thing the Injunctions also lately fet forth by *Elizabeth*
‘ our Queen, do most plainly testify : But only that Prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly
‘ Princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself ; that is, that
‘ they should rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their
‘ charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal,
‘ and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil do-
‘ ers. So that there is nothing of the Spiritual, much less of the Papal & Tyrannical Power given to the King by the Law.

*Article 37. of
the Civil Ma-
gisistrate.*

Fourthly, From the Power given to the Queen to Authorize such Persons as she shall think fit to exercise that Jurisdiction, he infers, They may be either Clergy-men, Lawyers, Merchants, or Coblers, since the *Statute* requires no more but *that they be born Subjects of the Realm*. But this is as well grounded as all the rest, for though that Statute does not name the qualification of the Persons, yet the other Statutes that Enacted the Book of Common-Prayer and the Ordinal, do fully specify what sort of Persons these must be, and it is not necessary that all things be in every Statute.

Fifthly, He in the end of this Paper pretends, that the Reason why this present Parliament altered the Ancient Forms, was, because they were null and invalid. The weakness and injustice of which was before shewed ; so that nothing needs to be repeated. And in fine, it has been also proved, that as both the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches have made many Alterations in their Rituals, so the Church of *England* which made these Alterations, had as good an Authority to do it by, as they had : To which I shall only add the words of the Council of *Trent* concerning the Power of the Church for making

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Self. 21. cap. 2.

* See what
Vasquez has said
of Changes in
the Forms of
the Sacrament.

such Changes, when they give the Reason for taking away the Chalice. *The Church has Power in the Sacraments, retaining the Substance of them, to change or appoint such things which she shall judge more expedient, both for the profit of the Receivers, and for the Reverence due to the Sacraments, according to the variety of Things, Times, and Places.* Where, by their own confession, it is acknowledged the Church may make alterations in the Sacraments * : So that it is a strange confidence in them to charge on us an annulling of former Orders, because of a small addition of a few explanatory words. And so much for his Paper.

Now having sufficiently answered every thing in it; I hope I may be allowed to draw a few Conclusions in opposition to his. And,

First, We having true Priests, and true Bishops, are a true Church, since we believe all that Christ and his Apostles delivered to the World.

Secondly, We being thus a part of the Catholick Church, every one that lives according to the Doctrine professed among us, may and shall be saved.

Thirdly, We do truly eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink his Blood, having the Blessed Sacrament administered among us according to our Saviour's Institution.

Fourthly, We have as much Power to Consecrate the Holy Sacrament, as any that were Ordained in the Church for near a thousand Years together.

Fifthly, We have the Ministerial Power of giving Absolution, and the Ministry of Reconciliation, and of forgiving Sins, given us by our Orders.

Sixthly, All Men may (and ought to) join with us in the profession of the Faith we believe, and in the use of the Sacraments we administer, which are still preserved among us according to Christ's Institution; and that whosoever repents and believes the Gospel, shall be saved.

Seventhly, All and every of the Arguments he has used, are found to be weak and frivolous, and to have no force in them.

And thus far I have complied with your desires of answering the Paper you sent me, in as short and clear terms as I could. But I must add, that this ransacking of Records

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about

about a succession of Orders, tho' it adds much to the lustre and beauty of the Church, yet it is not a thing incumbent on every Body to look much into, nor indeed, possible for any to be satisfied about : for a great many Ages, all those Instruments are lost ; So that how Ordinations were made in the Primitive Church, we cannot certainly know, it is a piece of History, and very hard to be perfectly known. Therefore it cannot be a fit study for any, much less for one that has not much leisure. The condition of Christians were very hard, if private Persons must certainly know how all Ministers have been Ordained since the Apostles Days ; for if we will raise Scruples in this Matter, it is impossible to satisfy them, unless the Authentick Registers of all the Ages of the Church could be shewed, which is impossible ; for tho' we were satisfied that all the Priests of this Age were duly Ordained ; yet if we be not as sure that all who Ordained them had Orders rightly given them, and so upward till the Days of the Apostles, the Doubt will still remain. Therefore it is an unjust and unreasonable thing to raise Difficulties in this Matter. And indeed if we go to such nice Scruples with it, there is one thing in the Church of *Rome* that gives a much juster ground for these, than any thing that can be pretended in ours does ; which is the Doctrine of the Intention of the Minister being necessary to make a Sacrament. Secret Intentions are only known to God, and not possible to be known by any Man : Therefore since they make Orders a Sacrament, there remains still ground to entertain a Scruple whether Orders be truly given. And this can never be cleared, since none can know other Mens Thoughts or Intentions.

Therefore the pursuing nice Scruples about this, cannot be a thing indispensably necessary, otherwise all People must be perplexed with endless Disquiet and Doubtings. But the true Touchstone of a Church, must be the Purity of her Doctrine, and the Conformity of her Faith with that which Christ and his Apostles taught. In this the Scriptures are clear and plain to every one that will read and consider them sincerely and without prejudice ; which that you may do, and by these may be led and guided into all Truth, shall be my constant Prayer to God for you.

AN APPENDIX,

About the Forms of Ordaining Priests and Bishops in the Latin Church.

BEcause the Decision of all the Questions that can be made, by those of the Church of *Rome*, about the Validity of our Orders, must be taken from the Ancient Forms of Ordination, as hath been fully made out in the foregoing Papers; therefore I hope it will not be unpleasant to the Reader, to see what the Forms of Ordinations were in the Latin Church, for many Ages, which he will more clearly understand, when he sees them at their full length, than he can do any Quotations out of them. *Morinus* has published sixteen of the most Ancient Latin Rituals he could find, composed from the end of the Fifth Century; at which time he judges the most Ancient of them was written, till within those last Four hundred Years; so that he gives us a clear view of the Ordinations of seven succeeding Ages of the Western Church. His Book is scarce to be had, and therefore I shall draw out of it, what relates to the Ordination of Priests and Bishops. Only as he has printed these Forms strictly as the Manuscripts were written, without altering some things that are manifestly the Faults of the Transcribers; so I shall set them down exactly, as he has published them, with the Emendations on the Margin from other Manuscripts, and add a Translation of them in English.

But I shall begin with the three first Canons of the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, in which we have the fullest and earliest Account of the Ordinations of Bishops and Priests in the Latine Church: And from the simplicity of these, and the many pompous Rites that are added in the latter Rituals, the Reader will both perceive how the Spirit of Superstition grew from Age to Age; and will be able to judge, whether the Church of *England*, or the Church of *Rome*, comes nearest the most Primitive Forms. These I set down according to the Manuscript published by *Morinus*, and Collationed on the Margin, with a Manuscript belonging to the Church of *Salisbury*, that is judged to be six hundred Years old, and al

so-

fo with that published by *Labbé* in the Tomes of the Councils.

Sacrarum Ordinationum Ritus.

Ex Concilio Carthaginensi quarto depromptus.

CANON I.

QUI Episcopus Ordinandus est, antea examinetur, si natura sit prudens, si docibilis, si moribus temperatus, si vita castus, si sobrius, si semper suis negotiis * cavens, * si humilis, si affabilis, si misericors, si literatus, si in lege domini instructus, si in scripturam sensibus cantus, si in dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis exercitatus; & ante omnia, si fidei documenta verbis simplicibus afferat * id est, Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum esse confirmans, totamque * Trinitatis Deitatem coessentialem, & consubstantialem, & coeternalem, & coomnipotentem predicans: si * singularem quamque in Trinitate personam plenum Deum, * & totas tres personas Unum deam. Si incarnationem divinam non in Patre, neque in Spiritu Sancto factam, sed in Filio tantum credat, ut qui erat in Divinitate Dei Patris, ipse fieret in homine hominis Matris filius: Deus verus ex Patre, homo verus ex Matre, carnem ex matris visceribus habens, & animam humanam rationalem; simul in eo * ambæ naturæ, id est, Deus & Homo, una persona, unus filius, unus Christus, unus Dominus, Creator omnium quæ sunt & autor, & * Dominus, & Rector cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto, * omnium creaturaram Qui passus sit vera carnis Passione; mortuus vera corporis sui morte, resurrexit vera carnis suæ * resurrectione, & vera anime resurrectione, in qua veniet judicare vivos & mortuos. Querendum etiam ab eo, si Novi & Veteris Testamenti, id est, Legis & Prophetarum, & Apostolorum unum eundemque credat autorem & Deumque. Si Diabolus non per conditionem, sed per Arbitrium, * sit malus. Querendum etiam ab eo si credat hujus quam gestamus, & non alterius, carnis resurrectionem. Si credat judicium futurum, & recepturos singulos pro his, quæ in * carne gesserunt, vel penas vel || gloriam. Si nuptias non improbat; si secunda Matrimonia non damnet; si carniū perceptionem non culpet; si poenitentibus reconciliatis communicet; si in Baptismo

* Vacans.
* Si omnibus
affabilis.

* Deest.
* In Trinitate.

* Singulam.
* Desunt hæc
in Labbeo.

* Ultraque natura.
* Deest.
* Deest.

* Receptione.

* Hab. Lab. Factus. & Cod. Saris.
† Hac vita.
|| Præmia.

omnia peccata, id est, tam illud originale contractum, quam illa que voluntate admissa sunt, dimittantur; si extra Ecclesiam Catholicam nullus salvetur.

Cum in his omnibus examinatus, inventus fuerit plene instructus, tunc cum consensu Clericorum, & Laicorum, & conventu totius provincie Episcoporum, maximèque Metropolitanis vel Authoritate vel presentia, ordinetur Episcopus. Suscepto in Nomine Christi Episcopatu non sue delectationi, nec suis motibus, sed his Patrum definitionibus acquiescat. [In cujus Ordinatione etiam aras requiritur, quam Sancti Patres in praeligendis Episcopis constituerunt.] De hinc disponitur, qualiter Ecclesiastica Officia Ordinantur.

* Desunt hæc
in [] MSS.
Cod. Sarif.

CAN. II.

Episcopus cum Ordinatur, duo Episcopi ponant, & teneant Evangeliorum Codicem supra Caput, & cervicem ejus; & uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes Episcopi qui ad sunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant.

CAN. III.

Presbyter cum Ordinatur, Episcopo eum benedicente, & manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes Presbyteri qui presentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius teneant.

In English thus.

CAN. I.

LET Him that is to be Ordained a Bishop, be first examined if he be naturally prudent, and teachable, if in his Manners he be temperate, if chaste in his Life, if sober, if he looks to his own Affairs, be humble, affable, merciful and learned; if he be instructed in the Law of the Lord, and skilful in the Sense of the Scriptures; and acquainted with Ecclesiastical Doctrines: And above all things, if he assert the Articles of Faith in simple Words; that is to say, affirms that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are one God; and teaches that the whole Deity of the Trinity, is Coessential, Consubstantial, Coeternal, and Coomnipotent

"tent: and that every Person of the Trinity, is fully God :
 "and all the Three Persons are one God. If he believes
 "that the holy Incarnation was neither of the Father, nor
 "the Holy Ghost, but of the Son only : That He who
 "was the Son of God the Father by the Godhead, be-
 "coming a Man, was the Son of his Mother, very God of
 "his Father, and very Man of his Mother who had Flesh
 "of the Bowels of his Mother, and a human reasonable
 "Soul. And both Natures God and Man, were in Him
 "one Person, one Son, one Christ, one Lord the Creator
 "of all things that are, and the Author, Lord and Gover-
 "nour of all Creatures with the Father, and the Holy Ghost.
 "Who suffered a true Passion in his Flesh, and was dead
 "by a true death of his Body, and rose again with a true
 "Resurrection of his Flesh, and a true Re-assumption of
 "his Soul, in which He shall come to judg the Quick and
 "the Dead. It must likewise be asked if He believes, that
 "one and the same God was the Author of the Old and
 "New Testament; of the Books of the Law, the Prophets
 "and the Apostles. If the Devil be not wicked by his Will
 "and not by his Nature. And if he believes the Resurrecti-
 "on of this Flesh, which we now carry and not of any o-
 "ther, and the Judgment to come, and that every one shall
 "receive either Punishment or Glory, for what they have
 "done in the Flesh. if he does disapprove Marriage, or
 "condemn second Marriage, or blames the eating of Flesh.
 "If He communicates with Penitents, being reconciled. If
 "he believes that in Baptism all Sins, both that which is o-
 "riginally contracted, and those which are willingly com-
 "mitted are pardoned, and that none is saved out of the
 "Catholick Church.

"When being examined in all these things, he is found
 "fully instructed, then let him be ordained Bishop, with the
 "Consent of the Clergy and Laity, and the meeting of the
 "Bishops of the whole Province; and chiefly in the presence
 "or by the Authority of the Metropolitan. And he having
 "undertaken the Bishoprick in the name of Christ, must ac-
 "quiesce in the Definitions of the Fathers, and not in his own
 "pleasure or inclinations. And in ordaining him, that Age is
 "necessary which the holy Fathers appointed in the choosing

“ of Bishops. After this it is appointed how all Ecclesiastical Offices are ordained.

CAN. II.

“ **W**hen a Bishop is ordained, two Bishops shall lay
“ and hold the Book of the Gospel, upon his Head,
“ and Neck; and one saying the Blessing over him, all the
“ other Bishops that are present, shall touch his Head with
“ their Hands.

CAN. III.

“ **W**hen a Presbyter is ordained, the Bishop blessing
“ Him, and holding his hand upon his Head, all the
“ Presbyters that are present, shall hold their Hands beside
“ the Bishops Hand upon his Head.

The most ancient of the Rituals *Morinus* proves was written some time between the Year 511, and 560, in which the Ordination of the Priests is in this Fashion: It begins with an Exhortation to the People, to tell what they know of the Person to be ordained, and to make a publick Election of him. Then follows the Collect with this Rubrick.

Oratio ad Presbyteros Ordinandos.

O Remus, Dilectissimi, Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, ut super hunc famulum suum quem ad Presbyterii munus eligit, cœlestia dona multiplicet, & quæ ejus dignatione suscipiunt, ejus exequantur auxilio; per Dominum.

* In aliis
Cod. Et.

Item alia, Exaudi nos, Deus salutaris noster, * ut super hunc famulum tuum benedictionem Spiritus Sancti & gratia Sacerdotalis effunde virtutem, ut quem tua pietatis suspensibus offerimus Consecrandum, perpetua muneris tui largitate persequaris; per Dominum.

In English thus,

A Prayer for the Priests that are to be ordained.

LET us pray, Beloved, to God the Father Almighty, that he may multiply Heavenly Gifts on this his Servant, whom he has chosen to the Office of Priesthood, that what they receive by his Favour, they may execute through his Help; Through our Lord.

And

And another.

Hear us, O God our Saviour, and pour upon this thy
 Servant the blessing of the Holy Ghost, and the virtue
 of Priestly Grace, that thou mayst follow him with a perpe-
 tual largeness of thy Gift, whom we offer up to thy holy
 Eyes to be Consecrated; *Through our Lord.*

CONSECRATIO.

Domine Sancte Pater Omnipotens aeternæ Deus, honorum omni-
 um dignitatum que tibi militant, distributor, per quem
 cuncta firmanur, amplificatis semper in melius naturæ rationalis in-
 crementis per ordinem * congruam rationem dispositum, unde Sa-
 cerdotalis gradus & Officia Levitarum Sacramentis † Mystici in-
 stituta creverunt, ut cum || Pontifice summos regendis populis præ-
 fecisses ad eorum Societatis & operis adjumentum * sequentes or-
 dines viros, & secundæ dignitatis elegeris, sic in eremo per Sep-
 tuaginta virorum prudentium, † mentis Moysi Spiritum propagasti,
 quibus ille adiutoribus usus in populo, innumeras multitudines fa-
 cile gubernavit. Sic & Eleazaro & Ithamar Filiis Aaron pa-
 terne plenitudinis abundantiam transfudisti, || & ad hostias salutaris,
 & frequentiores officii Sacramenta sufficeret mereretur Sacerdotum.
 Hac Providentiâ Domine, Apostoli Filii tui Doctores fidei Comi-
 tes addidisti quibus illi orbem totum secundis predicatoribus im-
 plexerunt. Quapropter infirmitati quoque nostræ, Domine, que-
 sumus hac adjumenta largire, qui quanto magis fragiliores sumus,
 tanto his * plurius indigemus. Da quesumus, Omnipotens Pater,
 in hoc † famulo tuo illi Presbyterii dignitatem: Innova in visce-
 ribus ejus Spiritum Sanctitatis: acceptum à te, Deus, secundi me-
 riti munus obtineat, censuramque morum exemplo sue conversatio-
 nis insinuet. Sit || providus cooperatore Ordinis nostri, eluceat in
 * eum totius forma justitiæ, ut bonam rationem dispensationis sibi
 credite redditurus, aeterna beatitudinis præmia consequatur.

* In aliis MSS.
 Congrua rati-
 one.
 † Mystici.
 || Pontifices.
 * Sequentes
 ordinis.
 † Mentem.

|| Ut ad hosti-
 as salutare &
 frequentioris
 Officii Sacra-
 menta Mini-
 sterium suffi-
 ceret Sacerdo-
 tum.
 * Pluribus.
 † Hunc famu-
 lum tuum.
 || Probus.
 † Eo.

The Consecration.

“ **O** Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God,
 “ the distributor of all Honours and Dignities that
 “ fight for thee, by whom all things are strengthened, the
 “ improvements of the rational Nature being always en-
 “ larged by Thee to the better, through a settled Order and

“congruous Reason, from whence the Priestly Degrees and
 “the Offices of the *Levites*, which were instituted by Mystical
 “Sacraments did grow up; so that when thou setst the High-
 “Priests to govern the People, thou didst choose for the help
 “of their Society and Work, Men of an inferiour Order
 “and second Dignity: So also in the Wilderness thou didst
 “propagate the Spirit that was in *Moses* into seventy pru-
 “dent Men, whom he using as helpers with him over the Peo-
 “ple, did easily govern innumerable multitudes. So thou didst
 “transfuse into *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* the Sons of *Aaron*, a-
 “bundance of the fulness that was in their Father, that the
 “Ministry of the Priests might be sufficient for the expiatory
 “Sacrifices, and the Sacraments that were more frequent. By
 “the same Providence thou, O Lord, didst add Companions to
 “the Apostles of thy Son, who were Teachers of the Faith,
 “with which Preachers of a second rank they filled the whole
 “World. Wherefore, O Lord, we beseech thee grant like-
 “wise those helps to our Infirmary, who by so much the
 “weaker as we are, do need these the more. Grant we be-
 “seech thee, Almighty Father, to this thy Servant, the dignity
 “of Priesthood. Renew in his inward parts the Spirit of Hol-
 “liness, and let him obtain the Office of the second Merit
 “received from thee, O God, and make him insinuate by the
 “Example of his Conversation a Censure of Manners. Let
 “him be a Provident Fellow-labourer with our Order, and let
 “the form of all Righteousness shine forth in him, that when
 “he shall render a good account of the Dispensation trusted
 “to, he may obtain the Rewards of Eternal Blessedness.

Consummatio Presbyteri.

* Hic.

S*It nobis, Fratres, Communis Oratio, ut * his qui in adjutorium & utilitatem vestre Salutis eligetur, Presbyteratus Benedictionem divini indulgentia muneris consequatur, & S. Spiritus Sacerdotalia dona privilegio virtutum, ne impar loco deprehendatur, obtineat persuum. Per.*

The Consummation of a Priest.

“**B**Rethren, Let us joyn in one Prayer, that he who is
 “chosen for the help and profit of your Salvation, may
 “obtain the Blessing of the Office of Priesthood by the Di-
 “vine

“ vine Indulgence, and the Priestly Gifts of the Holy Ghost,
 “ by the priviledg of his Vertue, lest he be found unfit for
 “ his Place.

Item Benedictio.

Sanctificationum omnium Autor, cujus vera Consecratio, plena
 Benedictio est, Tu Domine, super hunc famulum illi. Quem
 * Presbyterii honore dedicamus, † manum tue Benedictionis eum
 infunde ut gravitate actuum, & censura vivendi probe se esse || se-
 norem, his institutum disciplinis quas Tito & Timotheo Paulus ex-
 posuit, ut in lege tua die ac nocte, omnipotens, meditans, quod
 * elegerit, credat, quod crediderit, doceat, quod docuerit † medi-
 tetur : justitiam, constantiam, misericordiam, fortitudinem in se
 ostendat, || exemplum probe, * admonitionem confirmet, ut purum
 atq; immaculatum † ministerii tui domum custodiat, & per obsequi-
 um plebis tue || Corpus & Sanguinem Filii tui immaculata Bene-
 dictione transformet, & inviolabili caritate in virum perfectum, in
 mensuram etatis plenitudinis Christi, in die justitia eterni judicii,
 conscientia pura, fide plena, Spiritu Sancto plenus persolvat. Per
 Dominum.

The Benediction.

“ **T**HOU the Author of all Sanctifications, whose true Con-
 “ secration is a full Benediction ; Thou, O Lord, lay
 “ the hand of thy Blessing upon this thy Servant, whom we
 “ have dedicated to the honour of Priesthood, that by the
 “ gravity of his Actions and the rule of living, he may prove
 “ himself to be an Elder instructed in those Disciplines which
 “ St. Paul delivered to Titus and Timothy : that meditating in
 “ thy Law, O Almighty God, day and night, he may be-
 “ lieve what he reads, and teach what he believes, and follow
 “ what he teaches : and may shew forth Righteousness, Con-
 “ stancy, Mercy, and Courage in himself, and approve him-
 “ self a Pattern, and confirm his Admonitions, and may pre-
 “ serve the Gift of thy Ministry undefiled ; and through the
 “ Obedience of thy People, may transform the Body and
 “ Blood of thy Son with an undefiled Blessing, and may finish
 “ all by an inviolable Charity in a perfect Man ; in the
 “ measure of the Stature of the fulness of Christ in the day
 “ of the Justice of Eternal Judgment, with a pure Consci-
 “ ence and a full Faith, being full of the Holy Ghost.

†

Then

* Ad Presby-
 terii honorem.
 † Gratiam tue
 Benedictionis
 infunde.
 || Omnium.
 * Legerit.
 † Imitetur.
 || Deest.
 * Admoniti-
 one.
 † Mysterii.
 || Corpore &
 Sanguine Filii
 tui immacula-
 ta benedicti-
 one transfor-
 metur ad invi-
 olabilem cari-
 tatem.

Then follows the Consecration of their Hands in these words.

Consecratio Manus.

Consecrentur Manus istæ, & sanctificentur per istam Unctionem & nostram Benedictionem, ut quacunq; benedixerint, benedicta sint, & quacunq; sanctificaverint, sanctificentur. Per Dominum.

Item Alia.

Ungantur Manus istæ de Oleo Sanctificato; & Chrismate Sanctificationis, sicut unxit Samuel David in Regem & Prophetam, ita ungentur & consummentur in Nomine Dei Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, facientes Imaginem Sanctæ Crucis Salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi qui nos à morte redemit, & ad regna Cælorum perducit. Exaudi nos, Pie Pater Omnipotens Eterne Deus, & presta quod te Rogamus & Oramus. Per Dominum.

In English thus.

L Et these Hands be consecrated and sanctified by this Unction and our Blessing, that whatsoever they bless, be blessed, and whatsoever they sanctifie, be sanctified, through our Lord.

And another.

L Et these Hands be anointed with the Sanctified Oyl; and the Chrism of Sanctification, as Samuel anointed David to be both King and Prophet; So let them be anointed and perfected in the Name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, making the Image of the Holy Cross of our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, who redeemed us from Death, and brings us to the Kingdom of Heaven. Hear us O Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God, and grant what we desire and pray for; Through our Lord.

There is neither more nor less in that Ritual about the Ordination of a Priest. For this last of the anointing the Priests with Oyl, it cannot be called essential to the Priesthood, for the Greek Church never used it, and the *Nazianzen* tells us that his Father had anointed *St. Basil*, and that himself was also anointed; yet neither the Apostolick Constitutions, nor *Dionysius the Areopagite*, nor *Simon of Thessalonica*, nor *Cabasilas*, tho they have delivered to us the Rites of Ordination

nation in the Greek Church, ever mention it. And it is in no Greek Ritual; So that what ever places are found in any Greek Author of anointing in Ordination, must be understood Allegorically and Mystically, of the effusion of the Holy Ghost. So both *Elias Cretensis* and *Nicetas the Scholiast* on *Nazianzen* expound his words; and there are some Passages near the end of his fourth Oration, that shew these other places of his are to be understood Metaphorically. This Rite is not mentioned by the Council of *Carthage*, and it seems was not received in *Spain* a great while after the Age of this Ritual; for *Isidor*, tho very particular in other things (as the Staff and Ring) does not mention it, neither when he speaks of the Ordination of Priests, nor Bishops. Nor do the Councils in *Spain* mention it; and *Alcuine* speaks nothing of it, but it was only as seems used in the *Gallican* Church, and the first that I find clearly mention it, is *Amarinus*, but *Gildas* intimates it, for he speak of the Benediction, *qua initiatur Sacerdotum manus*, by which the Priests Hands are initiated.

Lib. 2. de Eccles. Offic. cap. 5.

Lib. 2. c. 3.

In Eccles. Ord.

Pope *Nicolas* the first expressly says, that at *Rome* neither Priests nor Deacons were anointed. His words are; *Præterea* *sciscitatis utrum solis Presbyteris, an & Diaconibus debeant cum Ordinantur, manus Chrismatis liquore perungi, quod in Sanctâ hac Romana cui, Deo autore, deservimus Ecclesia, neutris agitur. Sed & quia sit à novi legis ministris actum, nusquam nisi nos fallat oblitio, legimus.*

Epist. 19. ad Radol. Bitur. c. 3. which is also in the Canon Law. *Dist. 23. c. 12.*

“ You ask me further, if only the Priests, or the Deacons
“ likewise, when they are ordained; should have their Hands
“ anointed with the Chrism? This is done to neither of them,
“ in this Holy Roman Church; where, by God’s Appoint-
“ ment we serve, and if our Memory fails us not, we no
“ where read that this was done by the Ministers of the new
“ Law.

The second Ritual published by the same Author, is as he believes, nine hundred Years old, and has been compiled for the Church of *Rome*; being that which is commonly called *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, in which the Rubricks and Prayers are the same with the former, only the Anointing is not mentioned in that part of it that relates to the Ordination of Priests, but the Transcriber after the Office of the

†

Ordina-

Ordination of the Subdeacons adds the Rite and Collects for the anointing the Priests, which *Morinus* believes he did to accommodate it to the French Rites.

The third Ritual is, as *Morinus* believes, ancients than eight hundred Years, in which the Rites and Collects are the same with the former, only the Consummation and Blessing is wanting, and a new Rite is added of giving the Vestiment, with these words which are instead of the Blessing.

Hic Vestis & Casulam.

Benedictio Patris & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti descendat super te, ut sis benedictus in Ordine Sacerdotali, & offeras placabilem hostias pro peccatis atque offensionibus populi Omnipotenti Deo. Cui sit Honor & Gloria in secula seculorum.

In English thus.

“THE Blessing of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, descend upon Thee, that thou mayst be blessed in the Priestly Order, and may offer acceptable (or expiatory) Sacrifices, for the Sins and Offences of the People, to Almighty God. To whom be Honour and Glory for ever and ever.

Tom. 5. The fourth Ritual is the same with that which *Angelus Rocca* published among *Gregory* the Great's Works, where are the two first Collects and Prayer of Consecration; as in the first: with the anointing of the hands, as is there: and the giving the Vestments, with the words in the third Ritual.

The fifth Ritual, which he sets down has nothing relating to the Ordination of Priests; but the two first Collects and the Prayer of Consecration before set down, which upon that account he judges defective.

The sixth Ritual, about eight hundred Years old, composed for the Church of *England*, has all that is in the first Ritual, with these Additions. It begins with the Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, about the Ordination of a Priest. Then follow the Collects and Prayer before set down. Then there is added this Blessing, before the anointing of the hands.

Bene-

Benedictio vel Consecratio manuum Sacerdotis ante Uncti-
nem Chrismatis.

Benedic, Domine, & sanctifica has manus sacerdotis tui ill. ad
Consecrandas hostias quæ pro delictis atque negligentis popu-
li offeruntur, & ad cætera Benedicenda quæ ad usus populi neces-
saria sunt, & præsta, quæsumus, ut quæcunque benedixerint,
benedicantur, & quæcunque sacraverint sacrentur, Salvator mun-
di qui vivis & regnas.

Bless, O God, and sanctifie these hands of thy Priest,
for consecrating the Sacrifices which are offered for the
sins and negligences of the people, and for blessing of all o-
ther things that are necessary for the use of the people; and
Grant we beseech Thee, O Saviour of the World, who li-
vest and reignest, that whatsoever they Bless may be Bless-
ed, and whatever they Consecrate may be Consecrated.

Then follows the Anointing of the hands as before. Then
is added the Anointing of the head, with this Prayer:

Consecratio Capitis cum oleo.

Ungatur & Consecretur Caput tuum celesti Benedictione in
Ordine Sacerdotali, in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus
Sancti.

LET thy head be Anointed, and Consecrated with a
Heavenly Benediction in the Priestly Order, in the
name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Then the Vestments are given as in the Third Ritual,
with a little variation in the Collect, and then follows the
Consummation and Blessing; as was in the first Ritual be-
fore set down.

The Seventh Ritual, which *Morinus* reckons likewise Eight
Hundred Years Old, has the same Collects, Consecration,
and Benediction with the First, with the delivery of the
Vestment and Prayer, as is in the Third Ritual, and the
anointing of the Hands, as in the First, without any further
Rite.

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The Eight Ritual, is near the same Age with the Former, the two first Collects and Prayer of Consecration, are in it as in the First, and the Giving the Vestment, as in the Third, and the Consecrating of the Hands, as in the First, and there is no more in that Ritual.

The Ninth Ritual, which He believes is Seven Hundred Years Old, has the First Collects and the Prayer of Consecration, as in the First. There is a little inconsiderable variation in the Giving of the Vestments, from what is in the Third. The Hands are anointed as in the First. The Head is anointed as in the Sixth, and the Hands are blest'd as in the Sixth, the Consummation and Benediction are according to the First. Then some Collects and Blessings are added, relating to their Fasting and Abstinence.

The Tenth Ritual, about the same Age has the Two First Collects, and the Prayer of Consecration according to the First, then follows the giving the Vestments according to the Third. Then is the anointing of the Hands according to the First, and the Blessing of them according to the Sixth. There is no more in that Ritual.

The Eleventh Ritual, about the same Age, has the Exhortation to the People, and the Two First Collects, with the Prayer of Consecration as in the First. Then these Additions follow. He puts one of the Vestments, called *Orarium*, on him, and says,

Accipe jugum Dei, jugum enim ejus suave est, & onus ejus leve.

'Take the Yoke of God, for his Yoke is sweet, and his burden is Light.

Then the *Casula* is put on him with these words:
Stola Innocentiæ induat te Dominus.

'Let the Lord cloath thee with the Robe of Innocence.

Then follows the Blessing as in the First, and the anointing the Hands, with a small variation in the Collect from the words of the First.

This being done, the Paten with the Hosties, and the Chalice with the Wine, is given with these words :

Accipe

Accipe Potestatem offerre Sacrificium Deo Missamque Celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, in Nomine Domini.

‘Receive thou Power to offer Sacrifice, and to Celebrate the Mass, as well for the Living as for the Dead, in the Name of the Lord.

Then follows the Blessing as is in the Third Ritual.

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Rituals, the one being about Six Hundred and Fifty Years Old, the other a Hundred Years later, have the First Collects, and Prayer of Consecration, as the First had. And the Blessing that is in the Third, with the Consecration of the Hands that is in the First.

The Fourteenth Ritual, about five Hundred Years Old, has the two Collects and Prayer of Consecration as in the First. Then the *Orarium* is given as in the Eleventh, with an Addition in Giving the *Casula*.

Accipe vestem Sacerdotalem per quam Charitas intelligitur; Potens est enim Deus ut augeat tibi Charitatem, qui vivit.

‘Receive the Priestly Vestment by which Charity is understood; for God is able to increase thy Charity, who lives.

Then follows the Consummation, and Benediction as in the first; Then the Bishop makes a Cross in their Hands with the Oyl and Chrism; and uses the words in the Eleventh Ritual; then he gives the Sacred Vessels as in that same Ritual. Then follows the Blessing in the Third Ritual, and then the Bishop is to kiss them.

The fifteenth Ritual, is about Four Hundred and Fifty Years Old, and has very near the same Rubricks that are in the former, only upon the Margin, where the words are to be pronounced in the delivering the Sacred Vessels, is written, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remisistis peccata, &c.* Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, &c.

The Sixteenth Ritual, about Three Hundred years Old, agrees with the former, in the fore-mentioned Rites and Collects; but has this Addition, that the Bishop lays on his Hands on the Priests, and says, *Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, they are remitted to them, and whose sins you retain, they are retained.* But in two other Pontificals which *Morinus* believes are of the same Age, these Words

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and that Rite are wanting. In the *Ordo Romanus*, which some believe is a work of the Ninth Century, others that it is of the Eleventh Century, there are set down first some Questions and Answers to the Priests to be Ordained, then the two Collects with the Prayer of Consecration follow, as in the Rituals before set down, only it is marked in the Rubrick that the Bishop and Priests lay on their hands at the first Collect, then follow all the other Rites of Giving the Vestments, anointing and delivering the sacred Vessels; but the last Imposition of hands with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, are not in it.

From all which it clearly appears what must be Essential to Ordination, and what not; none of those Rites that are only found in Later Rituals are essential: for the Ordinations were good and valid before these were added. But that in which all these Rituals agree must be acknowledged of greatest weight and chief Importance, and that is the Prayer of Consecration with the two Collects that go before it. For in those they all agree, but vary in every thing else; and therefore *Morinus* thinks the former of these Collects, is now the form of Priestly Orders, for which He has another strong Argument, which is, that as he proves both by the ancient Canons, and even by the Doctrine of the Council of *Trent*; the Imposition of the Priests hands with the Bishop is necessary in these Ordinations, and they only lay on hands with the Bishop when that Collect is pronounced, from which he infers that then the Priests Orders are conferred. But it is clear from all those Rituals that these Collects were Preparatory to the Prayer of Consecration which only is the form of these Orders according to those Rituals.

And thus far of the office of Ordaining Priests, I shall next set down from those Rituals the Office, Rubricks, Rites, and Prayers used in the Consecration of a Bishop.

The Office begins with an Exhortation to the people, declaring the Necessity of substituting one Pastor to another, and that therefore upon the former Bishops Death, there is another chosen by the Priests and the whole Clergy, with the advice of the Citizens and people, who is well qualified for it; therefore they are desired to approve of the Choice by their Voices, and to declare him worthy of it. Then follows,

Gratio.

Oratio & * Precis de Ordinandis Episcopis.

* Preces.

O Remus, Dilectissimi nobis, ut his viris ad utilitatem Ecclesie
* providendis, benignitas omnipotentis Dei, gratiæ suæ tri-
buat largitatem; per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

* Providen-
dam vel pro-
dens.

Alia: Benedictio Episcoporum.

Exaudi, Domine, supplicum Preces, ut quod nostrum gerendum
est ministerium tua potius virtute firmetur. Per Dominum
nostrum Jesum Christum.
quod humilitatis nostræ gerehdum est Ministerio, virtutis impleatur effectus. Per.

In other Ritu-
als thus.

Adesto suppli-
cationibus no-
stris, omni-
pens Deus, &

Alia.

Prospiciare, Domine, supplicationibus nostris: & * inclinatus * Inclinato.
super hos famulos tuos cornu gratiæ Sacerdotalis, Benedictio-
nis tuæ in eos effunde virtutem. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum
Christum.

Coll. sequitur.

Deum totius Sanctificationis ac Pietatis actorem, qui plac-
ationem suam & sacrificia & sacra constituit, Fratres Dile-
ctissimi, deprecemur, ut hunc famulum suum quem ex altari in Ec-
clesia, & seniorum Cathedra concordibus sua inspiratione iudicis,
& effusus super plebem suam votis fidelibus, ac vocum testimonis
voluit imponi, collocans eum, cum principibus populi sui, ad eorum
nunc precum universam eundem summum sacerdotium debita bono-
ris plenitudine Charismatum gratia, sanctificationum ubertate hac,
præcipue humilitatis virtute locupletet, ut Rector potius non extol-
latur, sed in omnibus se quantum est major humilians, sit in ipsis
quasi unus ex illis, omnia iudicii Domini nostri non pro se tantum,
sed & pro omni populo qui solitudinis suæ creditur contremiscens,
ut qui meminerit de speculatorum manibus omnium animas requi-
rendas pro omnium salute pervigilet, pastoralis, erga creditas fidi
oves Domini diligentiae ejus semper se flagrantissimum adprobens.
Te dilectorum adigitur præfuturus ex omnibus electus, ex quibus
universis sacris, sacrandisque idoneus fiat sub hac quæ est homini

per

per hominem postrema benedictio confirmata atque perfecta suæ consecrationis nostræ supplicationis adrentissime concordissimisque omnium precibus adjuvemur, omnium pro ipso oratio incumbat, cui exorandi pro omnibus pondus imponitur. Impetret ei affectus totius ecclesiæ virtutem, pietate sanctificationem, & cæteras summi Sacerdotii sacras dotes universæ ecclesiæ profuturas, Domino Deo nostro qui Sacrorum numerum profluus fons est, qui dat omnibus affluenter quod Sacerdoti pro affectu poscitur, ad exundandam in omnibus sanctificationem suorum omnium promptissime ac plenissime conferentem. Per Dominum nostrum.

A Collect and Prayers for the Bishops to be Ordained.

‘**B**eloved, let us pray that the bounty of Almighty God may give of the fulness of his Grace to those men who are to be provided for the use of the Church, *Through our Lord.*

‘**H**ear, O Lord, the Prayers of thy Supplicants, that the Ministry which we are to bear may be confirmed by thy power, *Through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

‘**B**E favourable to our Supplications, O Lord, and put upon these thy Servants the horn of thy Priestly Grace, and pour upon them the vertue of thy blessing, *Through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

‘**B**eloved Brethren, let us pray to God who is the Author of all Holiness and Piety, who appointed Sacrifices and holy Offices, by which he is pleased, that he would, upon the Prayer of all his people, enrich this his Servant whom he has appointed by the agreeing voices according to his Inspiration and the faithful desires which he has infused in the people, and the testimony of their voices, to be raised from the Altar in the Church, and the seat of the Elders, placing him with the Princes of his people: with the fulness of the honour of the High-Priesthood, and the Grace of sanctifying Gifts in great measure, and chiefly with the vertue of Humility, that being a Governour, he be not lifted up, but that in all things he humble himself
‘the

'the greater he grows, and be among others, as one of
'them; trembling at all the Judgments of God, not only
'for himself, but for all the People trusted to his care, re-
'membering that all their Souls shall be required at the Hands
'of the Watchmen; and therefore may watch for all their
'safety, approving himself always most inflamed with Pa-
'storall diligence about the Lord's Sheep trusted to him.

I cannot make sense of the rest, for this Collect is in no
other Ritual, and the Copy out of which it is printed, as it
is very Ancient, so it has been most uncorrectly written.

CONSECRATIO.

DEUS honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum, quæ gloria
tuæ * sacris famulantur bonis: Deus qui Moysen famu- * Sacris.
lum tuum secreti familiaris * affectu inter cætera cælestis documenta * Affatu.
culturae, de habitu quoque indumenti Sacerdotis instituens, Ele-
ctum Aaron Mystico amictu vestire inter Sacra iussisti, ut intelli-
gentiæ sensum de exemplis priorum caperet secutura Posteritas, ne
eruditio Doctrinæ tuæ ulli deesset ætati, cum & apud veteres reve-
rentiam ipsam significationum species obtineret, & apud nos certi-
ora essent experimenta rerum quam ænigmata figurarum. Illius
namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus nostræ mentis ornatus est, &
Pontificalis Gloriæ non jam nobis * honorem commendat vestrum * Honor.
sed * Splendorem animarum. Quia & illa quæ tunc carnalibus * Splendor.
blandiebantur obtutibus, ea potius quæ ipsis erant intelligenda posce-
bant. Et idcirco famulis tuis, quæsumus, quod ad summi Sacer-
dotii * sacerdotium elegisti, hanc quæsumus, Domine, gratiam lar- * Ministeri-
giaris, ut quidquid illa velamina in fulgore auri, in nitore gemma-um.
rum, & multimodi operis caritate signabant, hoc in horum moribus
clarescat. *** Comple, Domine, in Sacerdotibus tuis mysterii tui ***
summam, & ornamentis totius glorificationis * instructum cælestis * Instructos
unguenti flore Sanctifica. *** Hoc, Domine, copiose in eorum ca- eos.
put influat, hoc in oris subjecta decurrat, hoc in totius corporis ex- ***
trema descendat, ut tui Spiritus virtus & † interiorum ora repleat, † Interiora
& exteriora circumtegat. Abundet in his constantia fidei, puritas
Dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. [Sint speciosi munere tuo pedes horum
ad Evangelizandum pacem, ad Evangelizandum bona tua. Da
eis, Domine, mysterium reconciliationis in verbo, & in virtute &
* signorum, & prodigiorum. Sit sermo eorum & prædicatio non * Signis &
in prodigiis.

† Virtute.

† Ligaverint.

† Ligatum.

* Dimiserint.

† Dimittas.

in persuasibilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis, sed in offensione Spiritus & † Virtutis. Da eis, Domine, claves Regni cælorum: Utantur nec glorientur Potestate quam tribuis in ædificationem, non in destructionem. Quodcunque * legaverint super terram sit † legatum & in cælis, Et quodcunque solverint super terram sit solutum & in cælis. Quorum detinuerint peccata, detenta sint, & quorum * demiserint, tu † demittas. Qui benedixerit eis sit benedictus, & qui maledixerit eis, maledictionibus repleatur. Sint servi fideles & prudentes quos constituas tu, Domine, super familiam tuam, ut dent illis cibum in tempore necessario, ut exhibeant omnem hominem perfectum. Sint solitudine impigri, sint spiritu ferventi, oderrint superbiam, diligant veritatem, nec eam unquam deservant aut lassitudine aut timore superati. Non ponant lucem ad tenebras, nec tenebris lucem; non dicant malum bonum, nec bonum malum. Sint sapientibus & insipientibus debitores, & fructum de profectu omnium consequantur.] Tribuas eis, Domine, Cathedram Episcopalem ad regendam Ecclesiam tuam, & plebem universam. Sis eis autoritas, sis eis potestas, sis eis firmitas. Multiplices super eos benedictionem, & gratiam tuam, ut ad exorandam semper misericordiam tuam munere idonei, tua gratia possint, esse devoti; per Dominum nostrum, &c.

Defunt hæc in
[] in plurimis
MSS.

THE CONSECRATION.

‘ O God of all the Honours, O God of all the Dignities, that serve in the Holy Offices to thy glory; O God who when thou instructedst Moses thy Servant with a secret and familiar affection, among other Instructions of the heavenly Ornaments, didst teach him the Priestly Garments, and commandedst him to cloath Aaron thy Chosen, when he did officiate, that the following Ages might be instructed by those that went before them, that the knowledge of thy Doctrine might be wanting in no Age, the appearance of the things signified being revered among the Ancients, but among us the real Experiments are more certain than the Riddles of Figures. For the Habit of the former Priesthood in us is the Ornament of our Minds, and it is not the thing of our Clothes, but of our Souls, that commends in us the Honour of the Priestly Glory; because they did more desire those things that pleased their carnal Eyes,

'Eyes, than the things they should have understood by them.
 'And therefore we beseech thee, O Lord, grant this Grace to
 'those thy Servants whom thou hast chosen to the Ministry
 'of the High Priesthood, that whatever those Garments signi-
 'fied in the shining of the Gold, in the brightness of the
 'Gems, and in the curiousness of the Workmanship, all that
 'may appear in their Manners. * * Accomplish, O Lord, in
 'thy Priests the fulness of thy Mystery, and having adorned
 'him with all the Ornaments of Glory, sanctifie him with
 'the flower of the heavenly Ointment. * * Let that, O Lord,
 'fall plentifully on their Head, and run down the rest of their
 'Face, and descend to the Extremities of their Body, that
 'the Virtue of thy Spirit may fill them inwardly, and com-
 'pass them about outwardly. Let the Constancy of Faith,
 'the Purity of Love, and the Sincerity of Peace abound in
 'them. [Let their Feet through thy favour be beautiful to
 'preach Peace, and to preach thy good things. Give them,
 'O Lord, the Ministry of Reconciliation, in word and in
 'power, in signs and wonders. Let their Discourse and
 'Preaching be not in the persuading Words of humane
 'Wisdom, but in the Demonstration of the Spirit and of
 'Power. Give them, O Lord, the Keys of the Kingdom of
 'Heaven. Let them use, but not glory in their Power which
 'thou givest them, to Edification, and not to Destruction:
 'Whatsoever they shall bind on Earth, let it be bound in
 'Heaven; and what they shall loose on Earth, let it be
 'loosed in Heaven: Whose Sins they retain, let them be re-
 'tained; and whose they remit, do thou remit. Who bless-
 'ses them, let him be blessed; and who curses them, let him
 'be filled with Curses: And let them be faithful and wise
 'servants, whom thou shalt appoint over thy Household to
 'give them Meat in due season, that they may present every
 'Man perfect. Make them diligent in Business, and servent
 'in Spirit. Make them hate Pride and love Truth, and
 'let them never forsake it either through weariness or fear.
 'Let them not put Light for Darknes, nor Darknes for
 'Light, nor call Evil Good, nor Good Evil. Let them be
 'Debtors both to the Wise and Unwise, that they may ga-
 'ther Fruit from the profiting of all Men.] Give them, O
 'Lord, an Episcopal Chair for the Governing of thy Church
 O 'and

[All this be-
 tween [] is
 wanting in ma-
 ny Rituals.

‘and whole People. Be thou to them Authority, Power, and Strength. Multiply upon them thy Blessing and Grace, that being fitted by thy Gift always to implore thy Mercy, they may be devout by thy Grace : *Through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

There follow some Collects that are called in the Rubrick *Super Oblata*, which belong to the Office of the Communion, and are Prayers for the Bishop ; and this is all in that Ritual, that relates to the Ordination of a Bishop.

The Second Ritual in all things agrees with the former.

The Third Ritual begins that Office with the second Canon of the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, about the Consecration of Bishops ; then follow the Collects, *Oremus, Adesto and Propitiare*, as in the first ; then the Prayer of Consecration, *Deus Honorum omnium* : And at the word *Comple* the Bishop takes the Chrism, and at the words *Hoc Domine* he pours it on the Head of the Person to be Consecrated ; but all from *Sinceritas Pacis*, to *Tribuas ei Domine*, is left out ; then follow the Collects *Super Oblata*, there is no more in that Ritual. For the Anointing of Bishops, tho it was neither used in the *Eastern* nor *African* Churches, yet both Pope * *Leo* and *Gregory* the Great mention it as a Rite then received in the *Roman* Church. † *Amalarinus* gives an account of it, but cites no ancienter Author for it than ‖ *Beda*, for some other *Authorities* that are brought to prove the greater Antiquity of this Rite, are either *Allegorical*, or relate to the Chrism, with which all were anointed at their Confirmation.

The Fourth Ritual has first the Questions that are put to the Bishop that is to be Ordained, which has begun, it seems, from the time of the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, where, by the First Canon, the Bishop was to be examined, both about his Faith and Manners. I shall only set down two of these ; the one is, *Vis ea quæ ex Divinis scripturis intelligis, plebem cui Ordinandus es & verbis docere & exemplis ?* ‘Wilt thou both by the Words and Example instruct the People, for whom thou art to be ordained, in those things which thou dost understand out of the Holy Scriptures ? To which he answers, I will. And this alone, were there no more, may serve to justify those Bishops who got Orders in the Church of *Rome*, and afterwards received the Reformation ; since by the very Sponsorships given in their Ordination, they had engaged themselves

* *Serm. 8. de Pass. Dom.*

† *In 1 Rrg. cap. 10.*

‖ *Lib. c. 14.*

Lib. 3. de

Tab. cap. 9.

See Morin.

Ex. 6. c. 2.

selves to instruct their Flocks according to the Scriptures. Another Question is, *Vis esse subditus huic nostræ Sedi atque Obediens?* ' Wilt thou be subject and obedient to this our See? Which was no other than what every Metropolitan demanded of all the Bishops under him, and yet this is all the Obedience then promised to the Pope; far different from the Oaths which were afterwards exacted. But I go on to give an account of the rest of the Office according to this Ritual. In the Rubrick, the Second Canon of the Fourth Council of Carthage is set down, to which is added, *Hoc facto accipiat patinam cum Oblatis & Calicem cum vino, & det ei, dicens, Accipe Potestatem offerre Sacrificium, &c.* ' Which being done, he ' shall take the Patin with the Hosties, and the Chalice with ' the Wine, and shall give him, saying, Receive Power to ' offer Sacrifice, &c. So that this was used in the Consecration of Bishops, long before it was in the Making of Priests. Then follow *Oremus*, *Adesto*, and *Propitiare*, as they are before set down: Then two new Rites are set down; the Rubrick is,

Ad Annulum dandum.

Memor sponsionis & desponsationis Ecclesiasticæ, & Dilectionis Domini Dei tui in die, qua affecutus es hunc honorem, carere ne obliviscaris illius. Accipe ergo Annulum discretionis, & honoris fidei signum, ut quæ signanda sunt, signes: Et quæ aperienda sunt prodas: Quæ liganda sunt, liges: quæ solvenda sunt, solvas: utque credentibus per fidem baptismatis, lapsis autem sed pœnitentibus, per mysterium reconciliationis januas regni celestis aperias: Cunctis verò de thesauro dominico nova & vetera proferas, ut ad æternam salutem omnibus consulas, gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto est honor & gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

For giving the Ring.

BEing mindful of the Sponson and Ecclesiastical Wedding, and of the Love of the Lord God, in the day in which thou hast attained this Honour, beware lest thou forget it: Receive therefore the Ring, the Seal of Discretion, and of the honour of Faith, that thou maist seal the

‘ things that are to be sealed, and maist open the things that
 ‘ are to be opened, and maist bind the things that are to be
 ‘ bound, and maist loose the things that are to be loosed, and
 ‘ maist open the Gates of the heavenly Kingdom to the belie-
 ‘ vers, by the Faith of Baptism : and to those that have fal-
 ‘ len, but are Penitent, by the mystery of Reconciliation,
 ‘ and that thou maist bring forth to all Men out of the trea-
 ‘ sure of the Lord, things new and old, and that thou maist
 ‘ take care of all their Eternal Salvation, *through the grace of*
 ‘ *our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, &c.*

Ad Baculum dandum.

A Ccipe Baculum sacri Regiminis signum, ut imbecilles consoli-
 des, titubantes confirmes, pravos corrigas in viam salutis æ-
 ternæ, habeasque potestatem attrahendi dignos, & corrigendi indig-
 nos, cooperante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui cum patre in uni-
 tate Spiritus Sancti est virtus & imperium, per omnia sæcula sæ-
 culorum. Amen.

For giving the Staff.

‘ **R** Eceive the Staff, the sign of the Sacred Government ;
 ‘ that thou maist strengthen the weak, confirm them
 ‘ that stagger, correct the wicked in the way of Eternal Sal-
 ‘ vation, and may have power to attract the worthy, and
 ‘ correct the unworthy, *through the assistance of our Lord Jesus*
 ‘ *Christ, to whom, &c.*

Then follows the Prayer of Consecration, and at the words
Hoc Domine, the Rubrick appoints the Chrism to be put on
 his Head, and what is left out in the former Ritual, is also
 left out in this ; after that Prayer follows the Collect *Super*
Oblata, and there is no more in that Ritual.

For these Rites of the Ring and Staff, the first I find that
 mentions them is ^a *Isidore*, who both speaks of them, and al-
 so sets down some of the words used in the former Ritual.
 Yet ^b *Aleuinus* speaks not a word of it, tho he entitles his
 Chapter, *The manner in which a Bishop is Ordained in the Ro-*
man Church. But it seems he has only look’t on some more
 Ancient Rituals, in which there was no such Rite ; for it is
 most

^a De Eccles.
 offic. lib. 2.
 cap. 5.

^b Lib. de Di-
 offic. cap. Quali-
 ter Episcopus
 ordinetur in Ec-
 cles. Romana.

most certain, that it was used in his time. ^c *Amalaricus*, tho he does at a great length insist on the anointing of the Bishop; yet speaks not a word of the Staff or Ring. But ^d *Rabanus Maurus*, who lived in that time, does mention it, or rather sets down *Isidore's* words without citing him; but whether these were insisted in or not, I cannot judge. Now these Rites were afterwards a ball of Contention; for the Emperors and Kings did give the Investiture by them, which had they been given without such words, they might have more easily kept up their pretension; but the words joined with them, relating wholly to Spiritual things, were no doubt made a great Argument for taking them out of their hands: Since it seemed very incongruous for a Secular and Lay Person, to pronounce them, or perform a Rite to which such words were added.

^c Lib. 2. de Eccles. offic. cap. 14.
^d Lib. de Instit. Cler. cap. 4.

See Pet. de Marca, Concor. Sac. & Imp. l. 8. c. 19. n. 9.

The Fifth Ritual has only the Collects, *Adesto*, and *Propitiare*, and the Prayer of Consecration, (without the Rubrick for giving the Chrism) and the Collects *Super Oblata*; leaving out in the Prayer of Consecration what is left out in the two former Rituals.

The Sixth Ritual has the Collects *Adesto* and *Propitiare*, with the Prayer of Consecration, as in the first (in which the Rubrick about putting the Chrism on the Head is also); then follows a new Prayer, that is in no other Ritual, for the Bishop thus Ordained, after which there is a Blessing called *De septiformi Spiritu*, For the sevenfold Grace of the Holy Ghost; then are the Hands of the Bishop Consecrated with holy Oyl, and the Chrism, with these words.

Consecratio manuum Episcopi ab Archiepiscopo, Oleo sancto & Chrismate.

U Ngantur manus istæ & sanctificentur & in te Deo Deorum ordinentur. Ungo has manus oleo sanctificato & Chrismate unctionis purificato, sicut unxit Moyses verbo oris sui Manus S. Aaron Germani sui, & sicut unxit Spiritus Sanctus per suos status, manus suorum Apostolorum, ita ungantur manus istæ & sanctificentur, & consecrentur, ut in omnibus sint perfectæ, in nomine tuo, Pater, Filiusque tui atque æterni Spiritus S. qui es unus ac summus Dominus omnium vivorum & mortuorum, manens in Secula Saculorum.

'Let

‘LET these Hands be Anointed, and Sanctified, and Ordained for the God of Gods. I anoint these Hands with Sanctified Oil, and the purified Chrism of anointing; as *Moses* by the word of his mouth anointed holy *Aaron* his brother, and as the Holy Ghost by his breathings did anoint the Hands of his Apostles, so let these hands be anointed, Sanctified and Consecrated, that they may be perfect in all things in thy Name, O Father, and in thy Sons, and thy Holy Spirit’s, who art the only and great God of the quick and of the dead for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Then his Head is anointed with the following words.

Hic mittatur oleum super caput ejus.

U*ngatur & Consecretur Caput tuum celesti benedictione in Ordinem Pontificalem, in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti.*

‘LET thy Head be Anointed and Consecrated with a heavenly Blessing for the Pontifical Order, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Then the Staff is Blessed in these words in Verse:

*Tu Baculus nostræ, & Rector per sæcula vitæ,
Istum sanctifica pietatis jure Bacillum,
Quo mala sternantur, quo semper recta regantur.*

‘Thou who art the Staff of our Life, and our guide, for ever sanctifie this Staff, by which ill things may be beaten down, and right things always guided.

Then the Staff is given, and after that the Ring, almost with the same words that are in the Fourth Ritual, then follows a Prayer that he may ascend the Episcopal Chair; then he is put in the Chair, and a Prayer is made for him, that he may resemble the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Saints, and in the end he is Blessed in these words.

Benedictio ejusdem Sacerdotis.

Populus te Honoret, adjuvet te Dominus, quicquid petieris præstet tibi Deus, cum honore, cum castitate, cum scientia, cum largitate, cum Charitate, cum Nobilitate. Dignus sis, Justus sis, Humilis sis, Sincerus sis, Apostolus Christi sis. Accipe Benedictionem & Apostolatum qui permaneant in die ista & in die futura. Angeli sint ad dexteram tuam, Apostoli Coronati ad sinistram: Ecclesia sit mater tua & altare, sit Deus Pater tuus, sint Angeli amici tui, sint Apostoli fratres tui & Apostolatus tui gradum custodiant. Confirmet te Deus in Justitia, in Sanctitate, in Ecclesia Sancta. Angeli recipiant te, & pax tecum indiscrepabilis, per Redemptorem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto vivit & regnat in sæcula seculorum. Amen.

MAY the people Honour thee, may God assist thee and grant thee whatsoever thou shalt ask of Him, with Honour, Chastity, Knowledge, Bounty, Charity, and Nobility. Be thou Worthy, Just, Humble, Sincere, and an Apostle of Christ. Receive a Blessing and an Apostleship which shall continue for this time and that which is to come. Let Angels be at thy right hand, and crowned Apostles at thy left. Let the Church and the Altar be thy Mother, and God thy Father. Let the Angels be thy Friends, and the Apostles thy Brethren, and guard the degree of thy Apostleship. May God strengthen thee in Justice, in Holiness, and in the Holy Church, and may Angels receive thee, and inseparable Peace be with thee, Through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit reigns and lives for ever and ever. Amen.

The Seventh Ritual has first the second Canon of the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, then the Exhortation to the people, then the Collects, *Oremus*, *Adesto* and *Propitiare*, then the Prayer of Consecration, and then the anointing of the hands, then follows the Communion Service.

The Eighth Ritual, begins the Office of Consecrating a Bishop with the Collect *Adesto*. Then follows a new Rite of giving the Gospel with these words:

Accipe

A *Ccipe hoc Evangelium, & ito, doce omnes Gentes.*

R Eceive this Gospel, and go, and teach all Nations.

Then follows the *Propitiare*, and the Prayer of Consecration, and the Giving the Staff and Ring, without any more.

This Rite of delivering the Gospels, it seems was never generally received, for it is in none of the other Rituals published by *Morinus*, but is now in the Roman Pontifical.

The Ninth Ritual begins this Office with the Form in which the Kings of *France* did then choose their Bishops, then follows an Oath of Obedience to the Patriarchal See (no mention being made of the *Pope* or See of *Rome*,) then the Ring is Blessed with a particular Benediction, and it is given with the words in the Fourth Ritual. The Staff is next Blessed as in the Sixth Ritual, and given as in the Fourth Ritual. Then follow the Collects, *Oremus*, *Adesto*, and *Propitiare*, then the Prayer of Consecration as in the First Ritual, then follows another long Prayer, after which follows the Anointing of the hands and head, and the Blessing for the sevenfold Grace of the Holy Ghost. Then follows the Communion Service.

The Tenth Ritual, has only the Collects *Adesto*, and *Propitiare*, and the Prayer of Consecration with the Collects *Super Oblata*. And on the Margin, the giving of the Ring and Staff is set down, but with a very different and much later hand.

The Eleventh Ritual, begins with some rites that are not in the *Roman Pontifical*, tho by it all is to be done in the *Popes* name, by a Bishop Commissioned, by him called *Dominus Apostolicus*, or perhaps the *Pope* himself, that being the common way of designing the *Pope* in those Ages; the Dean or Arch-Presbyter, and the Clergy of the See, ask the *Pope* or his Delegate their Blessing three times, then they are asked some questions about the Elect Bishop, among which those are considerable. It is asked, if he be of that Church? to which it is answered, Yes. Then, what Function he is of?

Ans.

Anfw. Of the Priestly. Quest. How many years has he been a Priest? Ans. Ten. Quest. Was he ever Married? Ans. Not. After these Questions are put, then the Decree of Electing him, which is addressed to the *Pope*, is read, by which they desire he may be Ordained their Bishop. This must be signed by them all. Then it is asked, if any Simoni-
 acal promises be made? They answer, No. Then the Bishop Elect is brought to the *Pope's* Delegate, who first puts the same Questions to him that were before put to the Dean, and he answers them in the same manner. Then the *Introitus* is sung, after which follows the Collect *Adesto*, then the Questions that are in the Pontifical are put to him, and whereas in the former Rituals there was only a general promise of Obedience to the Metropolitan, put to the Elect Bishop, instead of that the two following Questions are put to him. 'Wilt thou reverently Receive, Teach, and Keep
 'the Traditions of the Orthodox Fathers, and the Decretal
 'Constitutions of the Holy and Apostolick See? Answer, 'I will. Wilt thou bear Faith and Subjection to St. *Peter*,
 '(to whom the Lord gave the Power of binding and loosing,) 'and to his Vicars and Successors? Answer, I will. But these words not being thought full enough, they have since added (to Faith and Subjection) *and Obedience in all things, according to the Authority of the Canons*, then the Elect Bishop is examined about his Faith, the Questions being taken out of the three Creeds. After which he is blessed and clothed with the Episcopal Vestments, and the Epistle is read, 1 Tim. 3. Cap. Then his Sandals and Gloves are put on with Prayers at each of these Rites, then the Bishops laying the Gospels on his head and shoulders, and their hands on his head, the Ordainer says the Collects *Adesto*, *Oremus* and *Propitiare*, then follows the Prayer that in former Rituals is called the Consecration, but has no such Rubrick here, it has all that is in the first Ritual, only after the words *Celestis Unguenti Flore Sanctifica*, the Rite of Anointing the head with the words joined to it in the Sixth Ritual, is inserted, after which follows the rest of that Prayer: Next the hands are anointed, and words somewhat different from those in the Sixth Ritual are pronounced. Then follows a new Rite of putting the Chrism on his Thumb, with a Blessing joined to it, then the
 P Ring

Ring is blessed and given, and so is also the Staff, then the Kifs of Peace is given, and he is set down among the Bishops, and the Ordainer sits down and washes his hands and puts Incense in the Censer, and gives the Blessing, then follows the Service of the Communion.

*Li. De Div.
Offic. See inter
opera Bernar.
Con. ad Clerum,
prope finem.*

To this Ritual *Morinus* had added an ancient piece of a Ritual which he found in a *MS.* at *Tholose* about the Election, Examination, and Ordination of Bishops in the *Roman Church*, which in all things agrees with the former, except in an Addition, which is also mentioned by *Alcuinus*. I shall set it down in *Latin* without a Translation, which in modesty I ought not to give: By it the Reader will see what the *Roman Church* gained by pressing the Celibate of the Clergy so much since they were suspected of such horrid Crimes, and were to be tryed about them. The words are, *Inquirat illum de quatuor Capitulis secundum Canones, id est, de Arsenoquita, quod est Coitus cum Masculo: pro Ancilla Deo sacrata quæ à Francis Nonna dicitur, pro quadrupedibus & muliere alio viro conjuncta, aut si conjugem habuit ex alio viro, quæ à Græcis dicitur Deuterogamia: & dum nihil eorum ipse vir conscius fuerit, Evangelii ad medium deductis jurat ipse Electus Archidiacono & posthæc traditur Subdiacono & pergit cum præfato Electo ad Aulam Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, ibique supra ejus sacratissimum Corpus confirmet, quod non cognovisset superius nominata capitula.*

And thus, if they were free of these Crimes which are not to be named, no other act of uncleanness was to be inquired after or stood upon: only the Pharisaical Spirit of that Age is to be observed, in that they reckon a Churchmans having been married to another mans wife, which is forbidden by no Law of God or Nature, in the same Predicament with those Abominations which God punished with Fire and Brimstone from Heaven.

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Rituals have not the office of Consecrating Bishops in them.

The Fourteenth Ritual begins with the Decree of Election, directed to the Metropolitan, without that previous examination that is in the Eleventh; then follows the examination of the Faith and manners of the Bishop Elect, then the people pray he may be Ordained, after which two Bishops begin

gin the *Litany* (this is in no ancienter Ritual,) then the Hymn *Veni Creator* is begun (which is also new, being in no other Ritual,) after which they lay the Gospels on his head and lay on their hands; and the Metropolitan says the Collect *Oremus*; then follows the *Propitiare*, which is called the Benediction, then follows the Prayer *Deus bonorum*, after which there is another long Prayer that is in no other Ritual, for a blessing in the Function to which he is Ordained, then follows the blessing of the *Sevenfold Grace*, then the Consecration of the Bishops hands with the Oyl and the Chrism, then the Chrism is put on his head, (as the Oyl was by other Rituals put on his head in the midst of the Prayer *Deus bonorum omnium*) then follows a new Rite of putting the Miter on his head, but no words are pronounced with it, then the Ring is blessed and given; so also is the *Staff* blessed and given; then there is a Prayer about the putting him in his Chair; after which he is put in his Chair and a new Prayer is used, and all ends with the Blessing that is at the end of the Sixth Ritual.

The Fifteenth Ritual has no considerable variation from the former, only in the beginning the Bishop that presents the Bishop Elect says, *Reverende Pater, postulat sancta Mater Ecclesia ut hunc præsentem Prebyterum ad onus Episcopatus sublevetis*. 'Reverend Father, the Holy Church our Mother desires that you may raise this Priest to the burden of a Bishoprick. Then the Consecration is made with the Collects *Adesto, Oremus* and *Propitiare*, said with a middle voice. Then follows the other Prayer in which his head is anointed, which in this Ritual is called a *Preface*, tho in most of the former it be called *the Consecration*, then follows the blessing of the Staff; in the end the Blessing is given to the Bishop.

The Last Ritual agrees in all things with the Pontifical as it now is, only the words *Receive the Holy Ghost* are in none of these Ancient Rituals which *Morinus* saw, tho the latest of those be not above three hundred years old.

To these I shall add an account of the Consecration of a Bishop, as it is in the *Ordo Romanus*.

The Office begins with the Decree bearing the Election of the Bishop, with a desire that he be Ordained as soon as may be, directed to the Bishops of the Province, then follows the

First Canon of the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, after which is the *Metropolitans* Letter approving the Election, and desiring the Bishop Elect to be brought to him; when he is brought he is blessed in Order to his Consecration, then the *Antiphona* and the *Introitus* are said, after this follows the examination of his Faith and Manners, as in the Eleventh Ritual. Then the Epistle is read, after which his Gloves and Sandals, and his *Dalmatica* (a Vestment in the fashion of a Cross, first used in *Dalmatia*;) are put on, and Collects are used in every one of these; then follows the Exhortation that is in the ancientest of *Morinus* his Rituals: after which two Bishops lay the Gospels on his neck and Shoulders, and all the Bishops lay on their hands on his head, and the Ordainer says the Prayer *Adesto*, then the *Oremus*, which in the Rubrick, is called *Præfatio*; then the *Propitiare* which the Rubrick calls *Oratio*, then follows the Prayer called in other Rituals the *Consecration*, but in this it is called *Præfatio*, which is the same that was set down in the ancientest Ritual; after *Sanctifica* the Chrism is poured on the Bishops head, in the Form of a Cross, with the words in the sixth Ritual. Then follows the anointing of his hands, after that the putting the Chrism on his Thumb, then the Blessing and giving the Ring and Staff, then follows the Blessing and Communion, then follow the Letters that testify the Bishops Consecration, called *Litteræ Formatae*, then the *Pope's* Edict to the Bishop Ordained, containing very wholesome admonitions; then there is a Sermon and an Exhortation, which contain many excellent Instructions and Directions which deserve to be often read and well considered.

From all the Premises it clearly appears, that the Church of *Rome* did never tie these Offices to any constant unalterable Forms, but that in all Ages there very great alterations were made. And what was more anciently the Prayer of Consecration, was of later times called [*Præfatio*] a Preface, and what was in the ancient Rituals only a Prayer for the Bishops that were to be Ordained, is now the Prayer of Consecration; for now in the *Roman Pontifical*, all that is said in the Consecration of a Bishop when they lay hands on his head, is *Receive the Holy Ghost*, and then follows the Collect *Propitiare*. So that it is very unreasonable, and an impudent

puident thing, in the Emissaries of that Church, to raise scruples about our Ordinations, because we have changed the Forms, since they have made many more and greater Alterations of the more Primitive and Ancient Forms.

With this I should end this *Appendix*, which already grows too big; but I will only add one Particular more about the Oath that is in the Pontifical, to be sworn by all Bishops. It is in none of all these ancient Rituals, nor ever mentioned by *Morinus*; so that it seems, though it was at first made by *Pope Gregory* the Seventh, yet it was long before it was generally received or put into the Rituals. For the Reader's further satisfaction, I shall here set down all I can find about Oaths made to *Popes*. At first there was nothing exacted but a Promise of Obedience, such as all Inferiours gave to Superiours. Then there was a particular Vow made by such as the *Popes* sent in Missions. The first Instance of this is an Oath which *Boniface* Bishop of *Mentz*, (who is called the *He died Anno* Apostle of the *Germans*) swore to *Pope Gregory* the Second, 755 about the beginning of the Eighth Century, which follows as it is among his Epistles.

In nomine Domini Dei & Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, Imperante Domino Leone à Deo coronato magno Imperatore, Anno sexto, post Consulatum ejus Anno sexto, sed & Constantino Magno Imperatore ejus Filio, Anno quarto, Indictione sexta.

Promitto Ego Bonifacius, Gratia Dei Episcopus, vobis Beato Post Epist. Petro Apostolorum Principi, vicarioque tuo beato *Pape* 117. Gregorio, successoribusque ejus, per Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum, Trinitatem inseparabilem, & hoc sacratissimum *L. i. vit. c. 19. Mogunt. p. 343.* Corpus tuum, Me omnem fidem & puritatem sanctæ fidei Catholicæ exhibere: & in Unitate ejusdem fidei, Deo cooperante, persistere: in qua omnis Christianorum salus, sine dubio esse comprobatur: nullo modo me contra Unitatem Communis & Universalis Ecclesiæ, suadente quopiam, consentire: sed ut dixi, fidem & puritatem meam atque concursum tibi & utilitatibus tuæ Ecclesiæ, cui à Domino Deo Potestas ligandi solvendi que data est, & præ- *Mit. 16.* dicto vicario tuo, atque successoribus ejus, per omnia exhibere. Sed *Joh. 21.* & si cognovero Antistites contra Instituta antiqua sanctorum Patrum conversari, cum eis nullam habere communionem aut conjunctionem.

A.D. 5. 1.

onem: Sed magis, si valuerō prohibere, prohibeam: si minus vero fideliter statim Domino meo Apostolico renunciabo. Quod si, quod absit, contra hujus promissionis meae seriem aliquid facere quolibet modo, seu ingenio, vel occasione tentaverō, reus inveniar in æterno iudicio; Ultionem Ananiæ & Sapphiræ incurram, qui vobis, etiam de rebus propriis, fraudem facere, vel falsum dicere præsumpserunt. Hoc autem Indiculum Sacramenti Ego Bonifacius exiguus Episcopus, manu propria scripsi, atque positum supra sacratissimum corpus tuum, ut superius leguntur, Deo teste & iudice, præstiti Sacramentum, quod & conservare promitto.

In the Name of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, in the Sixth Year of Leo the Great, crowned by God Emperour, the Sixth Year after his Consulat, and the Fourth Year of Constantine the Great, Emperour, his Son, the Sixth Indiction.

I Boniface, by the Grace of God Bishop, promise to you St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and to thy Blessed Vicar Pope Gregory, and his Successors, by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Inseparable Trinity, and by this thy most sacred Body, That I shall shew forth all the Faith and Purity of the Holy Catholick Faith, and that, God assisting me, I shall persist in the Unity of the same Faith, in which the Salvation of all Christians does without all doubt consist; and that I shall in no sort, and upon no persuasion, concur against the Unity of the Common and Universal Church; but that as I have said, I will shew forth my Faith and Purity, and give my Concurrence in all things to thee, and the Advantages of thy Church, (to whom the Power of Binding and Loosing is given by the Lord God) and to thy Vicar and his Successors. And if I shall know the Bishops carry themselves contrary to the ancient Apointments of the Holy Fathers, I shall have no Communion nor Conjunction with them; but rather, if I can, I shall hinder it; and, if I cannot, I shall presently give notice of it faithfully to My Apostolical Lord. And if (which God forbid) I shall endeavour to do any thing against the Contents of this my Promise, any manner of way, either on design or by accident, let me be found guilty in the Eternal Judgment, and let me incur the Punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, who presumed to lye and deal fraudulently (even about their own Goods) to thee. This

This Breviate of an Oath, I *Boniface*, a small Bishop, have written with my own Hand, and having laid it on thy most Blessed Body, as is before mentioned, I have made my Oath, God being my Witness and Judge, which I promise to keep.

But it appears from another Letter written in the Twenty sixth Year of the Reign of *Constantine* the Emperor, Two and twenty Years after the taking the former Oath, which was in the Fourth Year of *Constantine*, that he had taken another Oath eight Years before that; for he begins that Epistle, written to *Pope Zacharias*, with these words.

Postquam me ante Annos prope triginta sub familiaritate & *Epist. 135.*
servitio Apostolicæ sedis, annuente & jubente venerandæ
memoriæ antistite Apostolico Gregorio anteriore voto constrinxi, &c.

‘ **A**lmost Thirty Years ago I bound my self by a former Vow under the Observance and Service of the Apostolical See, by the Consent and Command of *Pope Gregory* of venerable Memory, &c.

This is all I can find before *Pope Gregory* the Seventh: But he, pretending to a higher Title, not only over Bishops, but Secular Princes, made some Princes swear Allegiance to him, (it ought to be called by no other Name) for the first part of the Oath in the Pontifical, of *Being faithful and obedient to the Pope, being in no Council against him, and assisting him to defend the Papacy, and the Royalties of St. Peter, &c.* was sworn *Lib. 1. Epist. Greg. post. Ep. 21. lib. 8. post. Ep. 1.* both by *Richard* Prince of *Capua*, and *Robert* Prince of *Calabria* and *Sicily*, when they received *Investiture* from that *Pope* in those Dominions. But the Oath which the Bishops swore, is almost the same with that which is in the Pontifical, as we find it taken by the Bishop of *Aquileia*, after the Sixth *Roman* Council, in which *Berengarius* was condemned under that same *Pope*.

Afterwards the Council of *Lateran*, under *Pope Paschal* Ann. 1079. the Second, appointed a more modest Oath in the Form of an *Anathematism*, in these words:

Anathematizo

Ann. 1002.

A *Anathematizo omnem heresim & præcipue eam quæ statum præsentis Ecclesiæ perturbat, quæ docet & asruit Anathema contemnendum & Ecclesiæ ligamenta spernenda esse : Promitto autem Obedientiam Apostolicæ sedis Pontifici Domino Paschali, ejusque successoribus, sub testimonio Christi & Ecclesiæ : Affirmans quod affirmat, dammans quod damnat sancta Universalis Ecclesiæ.*

I *Anathematize every Heresie, and in particular that which disturbs the State of the present Church, which teaches and asserts, That an Anathema is to be contemned, and the Censures of the Church to be despised : And I promise Obedience to the Apostolick See, and to our Lord Pope Paschal and his Successors, under the Testimony (or in the sight) of Christ and the Church, affirming all that the Holy Universal Church affirms, and condemning all that she condemns.*

This Oath (if the References which *Labbe* and *Cossartius* make to the fifth and sixth Epistles of *Pope Paschal* be well grounded) was all that was imposed by that *Pope* ; and that not on all Bishops, but only on Archbishops, to whom he sent the Pall ; and yet from the first words of these Epistles it appears, that the Princes and the States of *Christendom* looked on it with an amazement, as a new and unheard of thing. The one is to the Archbishop of *Palermo* in *Sicily*, and the other is directed to the Archbishop of *Poland*, (I suppose it was of *Gnesna*) and they both are almost the same, only the latter has a great deal more than the former. They begin with these words.

Ep. 5, & 6.
Pasch. 2.

S *ignificasti Regem, & Regni Majores admiratione permotos, quod pallium tibi ab Apocrisariis nostris tali conditione oblatum fuerit, si Sacramentum quod à nobis scriptum detulerant jurares.*

T *Hou hast signified to me, That the King and the Chief of the Kingdom are amazed that the Pall was offered to thee by our Legats on this Condition, That thou shouldst swear the Oath which they brought to thee written by us.*

And

And if any Body desire to be satisfied about the excellent Reasonings with which the infallible Chair directed his Pen, he may read the rest of those Epistles.

The next Step made in this Oath, was by Pope Gregory the Ninth, which is in the Canon Law, where the Oath is set down to be taken by all Bishops, which differs from that in the Pontifical in these Heads. *The Royalties of St. Peter* are not mentioned in it, nor those Clauses of every Bishops sending one in his name to Rome, in case he could not go in person; nor is that of not alienating the Bishops Lands without the Popes consent in it. But when these additions were made, I do not find. The Importance of that Oath is little Considered, since few among us read the *Roman Pontifical* carefully, therefore I shall set it down with a Translation of it, from which it may be easily inferred, what all Princes may, or ought to expect from persons so tied to the Pope, since a fuller and more formal Allegiance, can be sworn by no Subject to their Prince than is sworn in it to the Pope.

*Lib. 2. Decret.
Greg. Tit. 24.
c. 4. set out
by him, Anno
1236.*

Forma Juramenti.

EGO N. Electus ecclesie N. ab hac hora inantea fidelis & obediens ero Beato Petro Apostolo sancteque Romanæ Ecclesie, & Domino nostro, Domino Papæ N. suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, aut consensu vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum; seu capiantur mala captione, aut in eos violenter manus quomodolibet ingerantur; vel injuria aliqua inferantur quovis quaesito colore. Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, aut nuncios suos, seu literas, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum, & Regalia Sancti Petri, adjutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ sedis in eundo & redeundo honorifice tractabo, & in suis necessitatibus adjurabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, & auctoritatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesie, Domini nostri Papæ, & Successorum prædictorum conservare, defendere, augere, promoveri curabo, neque ero in consilio, vel facto, seu tractatu in quibus contra ipsum Dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam, aliqua sinistra, vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status, & potestatis eorum machinentur.

tur. Et, si talia à quibuscunque tractari, vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse; & quanto citius potero, significabo eidem Domino nostro, vel alteri, per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas Sanctorum Patrum, decreta, Ordinationes seu dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones, & mandata Apostolica, totis viribus observabo, & faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, Schismaticos, & Rebelles eidem Domino nostro, vel successoribus prædictis, pro posse persequar, & impugnabo. Vocatus ad Synodum, veniam, nisi prædictus fuero canonica præpeditio. Apostolorum limina singulis triennis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo; & Domino nostro, ac successoribus præfatis, rationem reddam de toto meo pastoralis officio, ac de rebus omnibus ad meam Ecclesiam statum, ad Cleri & populi disciplinam, animarum denique quæ meæ fidei traditæ sunt, salutem, quovis modo pertinentibus: Et vicissim mandata Apostolica humiliter recipiam, & quam diligentissime exequar. Quod si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero, præfata omnia adimplebo per certum nuncium ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem, de gremio mei Capituli, aut alium in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutum, seu alias personatum habentem, aut, his mihi deficientibus, per diocesanus sacerdotem; & clero deficiente omnino, per aliquem alium Presbyterum secularem, vel Regularem spectatæ probitatis & Religionis, de supradictis omnibus plene instructum. De huiusmodi autem impedimento docebo per legitimas probationes, ad sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalem proponentem in Congregatione sacri Concilii, per supradictum Nuncium transmittendas.

Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo, neque impignorabo; nec de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu Capituli Ecclesiæ meæ, incensulto Romano Pontifice; & si ad aliquam alienationem devenero; penas in quadam super hoc edita Constitutione contentas, eo ipso incurrere volo.

‘I N. Elect of the Church N. from this hour forward, shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the Apostle, and the Holy Roman Church, and our Lord the Pope N. and his Successors, that shall enter canonically. I shall be in no Council, Consent, or Fact, that they lose life or member, or be taken with any ill taking, or that violent hands be any way laid on them, or any injuries be done them on any pretended colour. And whatever Council they shall trust
me.

me with, either by themselves, their *Nuncio's*, or Letters;
 'I shall knowingly reveal to none to their hurt. I shall help
 'them to retain and defend the *Roman* Papacy, and the Roy-
 'alties of *St. Peter* against all men, saving my own Order.
 'I shall treat the Legate of the Apostolick See honourably,
 'both in his going and coming, and shall help him in his ne-
 'cessities. I shall take care to preserve, defend, increase and
 'promote the Rights, Honours, Privileges, and Authority
 'of the Holy *Roman* Church of our Lord the Pope, and his
 'Successors foresaid. I shall neither be in Council, Fact, or
 'Treaty, in which any thing shall be contrived against the
 'said our Lord, or the same *Roman* Church, or any thing
 'that may be prejudicial to their Persons, Right, Honour,
 'State, or Power. And if I know such things to be treated
 'or procured by any body, I shall hinder it all I can, and as
 'soon as is possible shall signifie it to the said our Lord, or any
 'other by whom it may come to his knowledge. The Rules
 'of the Holy Fathers, and the Decrees, Orders, or Appoint-
 'ments, Reservations, Provisions, or Mandates Apostolical,
 'I shall observe with all my strength, and make them to be
 'observed by others, and I shall, according to my power,
 'persecute and oppose all Hereticks, Schismaticks and Rebels,
 'against the said our Lord, and his Successors. I shall come
 'to a Council when called, if I be not hindred by some Ca-
 'nonical Impediment; I shall personally visit the Thresholds
 'of the Apostles every Third Year, and shall give an account
 'to our Lord and his said Successors of my whole Pastoral
 'Charge, and of all things that shall any way belong to the
 'State of my Church, and the Discipline of my Clergy and
 'People, and the Salvation of the Souls committed to my
 'trust. And I shall on the other hand humbly receive and
 'diligently execute the Apostolical Command. And if I be
 'detained by any lawful Impediment, I shall perform the
 'foresaid things by a special Messenger, that shall have my
 'particular Mandate, being either of my Chapter, or in
 'some Ecclesiastical Dignity, or in some Parsonage; or these
 'failing, by any Priest of my Diocess, or failing any of these,
 'by any Priest secular or regular, of signal Probity and Re-
 'ligion, who shall be fully instructed in all things aforesaid.
 'And I shall give lawful proofs of the foresaid Impediment

An APPENDIX.

‘ which I shall send by the foresaid Messenger to the Cardinal
‘ of the Holy *Roman* Church, that is Proponent in the Con-
‘ gregation of the Holy Council. I shall neither sell, give,
‘ Mortgage, nor invest of new, nor any way alienate the pos-
‘ sessions that belong to my Table, notwithstanding the con-
‘ sent of the Chapter of my Church, without consulting the
‘ Pope of *Rome*. And if I make any such Alienation, I am
‘ willing to incur the Penalties contained in a Constitution
‘ thereupon set forth.

The Inferences that may be drawn from this Oath are so obvious, that I shall not trouble the Reader with any, knowing that every one will easily make them.

FINIS.



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A
LETTER,
Written upon the
DISCOVERY
Of the Late
PLOT.

Licensed W. Jane, Octob. 17. 1678.



L O N D O N:
Printed for *H. Brome*, and *R. Chiswell*, both living
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1678.

CHIEF

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PILOT

see 573:12

1878

(1)
A
LETTER,
Written upon the DISCOVERY
Of the Late
PLOT.

SIR,

I Heartily thank you for the News your last brought me, of the discovery of that horrid Plot, both against his Majesties Person, and the whole Kingdom. I doubt not but all good men are offering up their acknowledgments to God, for so great a Blessing; which is a fresh demonstration of his care of this Church, and State: and that all our Crying sins have not provoked him yet to abandon us: of which I pray God make us all sensible, that we may not continue to pull down such judgments, as the malice of wicked men would readily become instrumental in, if the Providence of God did not so wonderfully and seasonably interpose.

There is only one Passage in your Letter, that I wonder at. You tell me every body is surprized with this Plot now discovered. I confess I am not of their mind; for although I know there are persons of high Honour, and untainted Loyalty of the Roman Religion, who abominate the thoughts of all secret Assassinations, much more of Murder.



Murdering his Majesty ; yet such practices are so necessarily consequent to the Principles of that Church, that no Member of it, who thoroughly understands them, can, while they continue in that Communion, avoid the being involved in Conspiracies, as oft as a fit occasion presents it self.

These several years past they have boasted much of their Loyalty, and their Services and Sufferings for his Majesty, during the late Civil Wars. All this was necessary to make the Government put confidence in them, that so they might more secretly lay their designs : which were to take effect, when a Conjunction was offered that seemed favourable. But I must again and again repeat, what I often told you in discourse ; That no Member of that Church can thorowly understand and believe the Principles of it, and be a good Subject even to a King of his own Perswasion : But he can be much less so, to a Prince whom he looks on as an Heretick, who thereby lies under a general Excommunication, and may be brought under a particular and Formal one, before he, or any body else, but such as are fit to be entrusted with the Secret, shall know it : And then the Prince is at the mercy of all his Popish Subjects, who if they consider aright the Doctrine of their own Church, must depart from their Allegiance to Him, and be ready to do any thing that is laid on them, by those who are either directly their Superiours, if they have taken Religious Vows ; or at least, have some authority over their Consciences.

This I shall open to you in as short and plain terms as is possible ; and the rather, that you may communicate it to some persons of Honour of that Religion, who I hope upon so fresh a Discovery of these practices, may be now not unwilling to examine a Point, the consideration of which they before rejected, as an Imputation cast on their Religion. This will now, I imagine, move them so far to demur, as to consider impartially whether such practices flow only from

from the ill Tempers of particular Persons, or from the received Principles of their Church. This latter I undertake to make out, from the undeniable Maximes, to which all of that Communion are bound to adhere.

There are Two Principles, which I may well call the Fundamental Principles of the *Roman Church*: since all Opinions that are not inconsistent with them, can be tolerated among them: But whatever strikes at these, must needs be Abominated, as Destructive of that, they call *The Catholick Faith*. The one is, *The Authority of the Church*, The other is, *The Certainty of Tradition*. If then the Doctrine of Deposing Kings, and by consequence Killing them (for if they are justly deposed, it's as just to kill them as to kill any Usurper) is such, that without denying the Authority of the Church, and the Certainty of Tradition, it cannot be denied; then all men must resolve either to acknowledge it, or to renounce their Subjection to a Church that must needs believe it.

About the Authority of the Church, Two things are to be observed, that serve for clearing what I design to make out.

The First is, That the Church in any one Age has as much Authority as ever it had, or can have in any other Age: For if Christs Promises, together with the other Arguments they bring for the Authority of the Church, be good, they are alike strong at all Times, and in all Ages: And therefore though in writing Books of Controversies they muster up Authorities out of the former Ages, because we profess we pay little esteem to the latter Ages: Yet among themselves all Ages are alike, and the Decrees of them are of equal authority.

Secondly, The Authority of the Church is as little to be disputed in moral matters, that fall under practice, as in Articles of Faith that only fall under Speculation, and in a word,

word, The Church must be the Infallible Expounder of the Ten Commandments, as well as of the Creed. All the Arguments from Christs Promises, from the hazard of trusting to our private Reasonings, and the Necessity of Submitting to a publick Judg, are by so much the more concluding in Practical matters, as it is of more Importance, That Men think aright in Practical than in Speculative Opinions. If then there arises a Question about a Moral matter, or the Exposition of any of the Commandments, The only certain Decision must be expected from the Church. For instance, a Question arises about Images, Whether it is lawful to use them in the Worship of God, upon the seeming Opposition which the worship of them has to the 2d Commandment ? Since the Church has once Determin'd that it may be lawfully used, it is Heresie to deny it, on this pretence, that we fancy it is contrary to one of the Commandments. So if a Controversie arise upon the Fifth Commandment, How far a King is to be acknowledged, if the Church has determined the Limits of that, it is Heresie to carry it further. If also another Question arise how much the Sixth Commandment obliges ? It must be carried so far and no further than the Determination of the Church allows. I confess by the Doctrine of that Church, even a General Council may err in a point in which any matter of Fact is included : Because they may be deceived by a false Information. But in a General Rule about Morality, and the Extent of any of the Ten Commandments, The Decision of the Church must either be certain, and for ever Obligatory, or the whole Doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church falls to the ground.

Concerning the *Certainty of Tradition*, the general Opinion of that party, is, That Tradition is an Infallible Conveyance of Divine Truth : and that whatever any Age of the Church delivers to another as derived from Christ and his Apostles,

Apostles, must be received with the same Veneration and Obedience that we pay to the Holy Scriptures. And for the ways of distinguishing a Tradition of the Church from any Imposture, or Novelty: There be four of them.

The first, That is the most doubtful, is, That the greatest and most esteemed Doctors in any Age deliver as a Divine Truth. Nor is it necessary that they formally say, This is a Tradition: but if many of them mention an Opinion, and declare their own assent to it, this passes as a sufficient proof of the Tradition of any Age of the Church. So in all points of Controversie between them and us, the greatest part of their Writers, (some few later and suspected ones only excepted) think they have sufficiently justified their Church, when they bring Testimonies out of any of the Writings of the Fathers, that seem to favour their Opinion: and will call it unreasonable for us to reject these, because they only deliver their own opinion, and do not call it the Tradition of the Church, but conclude, That many Writers in any age asserting an Opinion, it may well be looked on as the Tradition of that Age.

But, because this is more liable to exception, there is another way, that is more infallible to judge of Tradition: and that is, by the conveyance of the See of *Rome*, which they judge the chief Depository of the Faith; and for which they fancy they have so many proofs, from the high things some of the Fathers have said about the dignity of that See. Now if these conclude any thing, it must follow, That whatever has been delivered in any Age by a Pope, as conveyed down from Christ, or his Apostles, must either be so indeed, or the See of *Rome* is not a faithful Transmitter of Tradition.

But, there is yet a more certain way of judging of Tradition, by what the chief Pastors of the Church have delivered, when assembled in a general Council. This being the
Supreme

Supreme Tribunal in the Church, there can lie no appeal from it: Nor can the Doctrines delivered or approved by it be questioned. For instance, If it were under debate, How the Tradition about Transubstantiation can be made out in the Thirteenth Century; it is needless to seek any other evidence, than, That one *Almerick* is condemned for denying it, and in Opposition to that, it was formally established in a general Council. This is as much as can be had, and he were very unreasonable that were not satisfied with it: So if it be asked, How can the Tradition of the Doctrine of Deposing Kings, and giving away their Dominions in the same Century be proved? The Answer is plain, That same very Council decreed it: Upon which a great Prince was deposed, and his Dominions were given to another.

These are the Common Standards by which Traditions are Examined. But to these a new one has been lately added: which is indeed a much shorter and nearer way: And that is, whatever the Church holds in any one age, as a Material point of Religion, she must have received it from the former age, and that age from the former, and so it climbs upwards till the days of the Apostles. If this be a certain Track of Tradition by which we may infallibly trace it; Then for instance, If in any one age, it hath been believed, That *St. Peter* had power from Christ, which he left to the See of *Rome*, by which his Successor in it can depose Kings, then this must be an Apostolical Tradition, and by consequence of equal authority with any thing written in the Scriptures.

To these General Considerations about the Authority of the Church, and the Certainty of Tradition; I shall add Two other, about the Nature of Supreme and Sovereign Power: By which we may judg of what Extent the Popes Power must be, if he have an authority to depose Kings, and transfer their Dominions to other persons.

Firſt,

First, When the Sovereign Powers proceed in a Legal way against its Subjects; If either they abscond, so that they cannot be found; Or have such a Power about them, that the Sovereign cannot bring them to punishment; He may declare them Rebels, and set Prices on their Heads; And in that case it is as lawful for any Subject to kill them, as it is for an Executioner to put a condemned Person to Death. These being the several ways the Law provides in those several cases. So when a *Pope* deposes a Prince, He may as lawfully set on private Assassins to kill him, as oblige his Subjects to rise with open force against him. For if the *Pope* has a Power over him to depose him; this clearly follows from the Nature of Sovereign Power, and it is the Course that sometimes must be followed, when the Rebel can be no other way brought to deserved punishment; and if the *Pope* has the power of deposing, then a Prince who after such a Sentence, carries himself as a King, is a Rebel against his Supreme Lord: And is also an Usurper. For his Title being destroyed by the Sentence, He has no authority over his Subjects: and therefore may be as lawfully killed as any Rebel or Usurper.

Secondly, The Supreme power may in cases of great necessity, when the thing is in it self materially just, pass over such Forms as ought in ordinary Cases to be observed. I need not tell you, That in a great Fire, Subordinate Magistrates may blow up Houses. But doubtless the Supreme Power of all, as a King in an absolute Monarchy (and such is the Papal Power if these Opinions be true) may dispence with some Forms, when the Matter is in it self just; and if the chief design of a Law be pursued, the circumstantial parts of it may upon extraordinary occasions be superseded: Therefore, if the *Pope* is Supreme over all Kings, and has this deposing Power; Then though by the Canon, a King ought to be first a Year Excommunicated for his Heresy

or favouring Hereticks ; and at the Years end he may be Deposed by the Pope, (There are also other Rules for Excommunications, tho the Summary way in some cases may be used) yet all these are but circumstantial and lesser Matters. The design of that Law, is, That no Heretical Prince, or favourer of Heresie, be continued in his Power ; The other, are but Forms of Law, that cannot be indispensibly necessary in all cases. Besides, the very Canon Law teaches, that when there is both a *Notorietas juris & Facti*, Summary proceedings are Legal ; when then it is Notorious, that the Doctrines of the Church (of *England* for Instance) are Heretical, and that the King is an Obstinate Favourer of these Heresies, and will not extirpate them, Summary and Secret proceedings are justifiable. There is no hope that Bulls, Breves, or Citations would do any good in this case : These would on the contrary, alarm the State, and bring all the Party under great hazards : Therefore from the Nature of Supreme Power, it is most justly Inferred, That though there have been no publick Sentence of Deposition (according to the Forms of the Canon Law) yet all these may be dispensed with, and a Secret and Summary one may do as well.

These Positions are such, that I cannot sanse any just Exceptions to which they are liable ; and from all these laid together, the Inference will undeniably follow : That according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the power of Deposing Kings is lodged with the Pope, by a Divine Authority ; and that, by consequence, private persons may conspire to take away the Life of a King so deposed : Even though there be no publick Sentence given about it. But before I bring the Evidence for all this, I shall desire the reader will a little reflect on the Positions I have laid down : which he will find an Answer to all the Exceptions, that be made against the following Evidence.

By the first, The Authority of the Church, being the same in all Ages; he will see it is to no purpose to pretend these were dark Ages: So that what was done in an ignorant time, cannot oblige the World when things are seen in a better light. But if the Church has an Authority from Christ, that shall last till the end of the World, it must be the same in all ages. The Ignorance of the age is a very good answer when made by a Protestant, but can signifie nothing in a *Papists* Mouth.

By the second, Of the Churches authority in setting Moral Rules for practice, it appears how fond that distinction is, which they make between a Canon and a Decree. It is true, a Decree about a particular Case, in which there is some matter of Fact, may be wrong according to their Principles, and yet the authority of the Church remain entire. For instance, in the deposing a Prince, or condemning a Man for Heresie, the Church may either by false Witnesses, or mistaking a Man's words, be drawn to pass an unjust Sentence, by reason of a misrepresentation of the Fact. But that is nothing to the purpose here, where a Decree is made as a perpetual Rule of Practice; this must be of the same authority of a Canon about any article of Faith. Otherwise it will follow, that the Church may mislead the People in matters indispensably necessary to Salvation: For such is the Obedience to the Ten Commandments.

By the first way of judging of the Tradition of the Church, from what the most received Writers in any age deliver, as the Doctrine of the Church, it will appear; That the Schoolmen and Canonists are as competent Conveyers of Tradition from the twelfth age downward, as the Fathers were from the sixth Age upward; and laying this for a Principle, That the Church is the same in all Ages, they are really more competent Witnesses than the Fathers were. First, Because they write more closely to the subject they

have in hand; they consider what is said for, or against an Opinion in a more exact manner, than the Fathers did, who being carried with the heat they are sometimes in, go off from the purpose: and generally affect Eloquence, which is the most improper Stile for nice Matters: Whereas the Schoolmen write in a blunt way, only considering the purpose they are about, coining the most barbarous words they can light on, when they think them the fittest to express their Notions. Secondly, They were divided into two famous Schools, among whom there were great heats, the *Scotists* and *Thomists*: So that if either of these had asserted any thing that was not the received Doctrine of the Age they lived in, the other Party had such Emulation against them, that they would not have failed to have laid them open: as they did in the matter of the Immaculate Conception of the B. Virgin. Whereas the Fathers writing only against Hereticks, or other Enemies to Christianity, they might have mistaken somethings, without so publick a discovery as was likely to happen among the Schoolmen. 3dly. The Schoolmen wrote on purpose to deliver the Doctrine of the Age in which they lived, to those who were to succeed them. Their Books being generally the Divinity Lectures they read, either in Colledges or Religious Houses, to their Scholars, whereas the Fathers wrote upon Emergent Occasions, either Letters or Treatises to private Persons, regarding more the present, than the succeeding Age. In which we cannot expect that exactness, that is to be looked for in a Publick Lecture. Upon all which I assume, That allowing the Church to have the same Authority in all Ages, the Schoolmen are more competent Witnesses of the Tradition of the Church in their Ages, than the Fathers were in theirs.

By the second Rule for judging of Traditions, from the Conveyance of the See of Rome, it does undeniably follow,

low, That the Popes from *Gregory* the Seventh's time downward, were as sure *Depositories* of the Traditions of the Church, as were the Popes from *Gregory* the First his time upward. They were both alike Christ's Vicars, and *St. Peter's* Successors: So that all the high words that the Fathers bestow on the See of *Rome*, were either Completments, in which they are not wanting, or were said because of the worth of the Bishops, whom they had known in that See. But if they be to be understood in that sense in which the Writers of Controversy obtrude them on us, then it will follow manifestly, that as to the Conveyance of Tradition, *P. Gregory* the 7th is as much to be believed, when he says any thing in the Name of *St. Peter*, or of Christ, as any of the Popes are. For in the Preamble of Bulls and Breves, the Reasons are given of what follows, which are most commonly vouched from Apostolical Authority and Tradition. So let the Pope be ever so ignorant, or so corrupt in his Manners, what he asserts to be Apostolical Tradition, must be either received as such, or the authority of that See is overthrown: therefore they must either cease to press us any more with the Authority of the See of *Rome*, or acknowledge that all the Popes' Declarations, which they make about Traditions, are to be received. It is an Answer to be made use of only to ignorant Persons, to say, These *Depositions* were the Deeds of some Popes, who might be ill Men, and the Church is not concerned to justify them. I confess, whether this or that Deposition was justly or lawfully made, is a personal thing, in which only the Pope who decreed it is concerned. But if he declares in the Preamble, that the Power of deposing upon those reasons, is grounded on an *Apostolical* Tradition, then the See is concerned in it: for either he declares true or false; if the former, then that Power of deposing comes from *Apostolical* Tradition; if they acknowledge
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he declares false, then we are not any more to be urged with the Authority of that See, as the certain Depository of the Traditions of the Church.

By the third Mark, to judge of the Tradition of any age from the Decision of a General Council, it appears, that the Decisions of the fourth Council of *Lateran* are as Obligatory as the Decrees of the first Council of *Nice*: the Church having the same power in all Ages. If it be said, it was only a Council of the Western Church, the like may be objected against the first General Council, which were generally made up of Eastern Bishops, and very few of the Western Bishops sat in them. And if we esteem a Council *General*, because it was received by the Church, then the whole Church of *Rome* having received that Council, it must be acknowledged to be *General* as much as any ever was. But to this, others answer, That a Council is only Infallible, when a thing is decreed by it according to the Tradition of the Church. If this be true, the whole Controversie between the *Roman* Church and us, about the authority of Councils, is decided on our Side. For if a Council has only authority to declare Traditions, then it is free forevery Person to examine, whether this Declaration be according to truth or not? And if it be found that it is not so, they may lawfully reject such Decisions. For instance in the second Council of *Nice*, the worship of Images was established upon a mock-shew of Tradition: and yet all the World knows, there were no Images allowed in the Church the first four Ages after *Christ*; and even in the sixth Age *P. Gregory* declared, That though they might be in the Church, yet they ought not to be worshipped. Nor was there any contest about it, before the eighth Century. This being thus examined, and found to be True, then according to the foregoing Answer, that Decision was of no force, though made by the second Council of *Nice*. In a word,

word, if this Maxime be true, That Councils are only to be submitted to, when they decree according to Apostolical Tradition, then they have no Authority in themselves: and their decisions can have no more force than this, That it may seem probable that they were not mistaken, and in an Ignorant Age, even this probability will vanish to nothing.

No Body will reject the Decision of a Council, when the Decrees are just and right: But if it be upon that score alone, that they are to be submitted to, then none are bound by them, before they have examined them: And if upon a Search it appear they decreed against Tradition, then their Decrees are to be rejected. So it is apparent this Answer does plainly, according to their Principles, lay the foundation of all Heresie; since it gives every Man a right to question the Decrees of a General Council.

Besides, How can those Persons be assured, that the fourth Council of *Lateran* did not decree according to Tradition? The Acts of that Council are lost: so we cannot know upon what reasons they made their Decrees. And it cannot be said, that because there is no mention made of any Tradition in the Decree, that therefore they considered none. It is seldom found that the reasons of any Decree are put with it. But we may reasonably enough believe, that they followed the Method in this Council, that had been used in some former ones (particularly in the second Council of *Nice*) which was this, a Writing was read, penned perhaps by the Pope, or a Patriarch, in which the Tradition of the Church was confidently alledged; and some Quotations were brought; and very oft out of some later Writers. The Paper was no sooner read, than a loud and often repeated Shout of applause followed, without any further search or canvassing about these Authorities. And upon that the Decree was made. This was the practice both
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of the second *Nicene*, and of some more ancient Councils ; whose Journals are hitherto preserved ; and where the Journals are lost, we have reason to believe they followed the same method : so that it is very probable there might have been some such Writing read in the Council of *Lateran*. And if they did not found their Decree upon Tradition, they were much to blame ; for they had as venerable a Tradition, as either the second Council of *Nice*, or some other Councils had : a practice about 150 years standing from the days of *Pope Gregory* the VII. so that it is not to be denied but they had as good authority from Tradition, to make this Decree, as to make most of the other Decrees, on which they insist much, in the Books of Controversies that are written by them.

By the fourth Rule of judging about Tradition, the matter is yet much plainer : for if the generally received Belief of any Age of the Church, is a good Thread to lead us up to the Apostles times, then there needs no more be said. For it is certain, that for near four Ages together, this was the universally received Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. And the opposition that some Princes made to it was condemned as Heresy, Rebellion, and every thing that was evil. And it is remarkable, that both *Ockam* that wrote much for the Emperors cause against the *Pope*, and *Gerson* and *Almain*, no great favourers of Papal power, are cited by Cardinal *Perron*, as acknowledging the Ecclesiastical power of deposing, if a Prince were guilty of spiritual crimes. So that the Controversies in this matter that were managed between the Writers for the Popes and Emperors, were not, whether the Pope in cases of Heresy might depose a Prince ? but were concerning two things very remote from this.

The one was, whether the Pope had a direct Temporal power over all Kings, by which as being Lord of the Fee, he could

could proceed upon any Cause whatsoever against a King, and take his Dominions from him. To this indeed *Gregory* the 7th pretended tho more covertly, and *Boniface* the 8th more avowedly. There was great Opposition made to this by many Writers; but at the same time they all agreed on it, as an undeniable Maxim, That the Pope had an indirect Power over Princes, by which in the Cases of Heresy he might excommunicate and depose them; nor was there so much as any Debate about it.

A second thing about which there was some Controversy was, whether the Particulars that fell under debate came within the Head of Heresy, or not? So in the Case of Princes giving the Investitures into Bishopricks, the Pope brought it in within the Head of Heresy, and condemned those Persons as *Simoniacks*. The Writers on the other side denied this, pretending it was a Civil Matter, and a right of the Crown. The like Debates fell in, when Princes were sentenced on any other account. The Authority of the Sentence in the Case of Heresy was not controverted; all the Question was; Whether the Point under debate was Heresy or not? And concerning these things, any who have read the Writings in the great Collection made of them by *Goldastus*, will receive an easy and full Satisfaction. By which it appears, that the Popes Power of deposing Kings in the Case of Heresy was the received Doctrine of the Church for several Ages, and by consequence it must be looked on as derived down from the Apostles, If the Doctrine of any one Age of the Church can lead us backward in a certain Track to discover what it was in the Apostles days.

By the first Position about the Nature of Supreme Power, it is apparent, that in the Case of Heresy, a Prince deposed by the Pope, if he stands out against the Sentence, may be as lawfully killed as any *Tory* or *Moss-*

Trooper, or Bantito, may be; for he is a Rebel against his Lord, and an Usurper over the People, from that day forward. And therefore tho *Mariana* told a Secret too publicly, yet it cannot be denied to be a certain Consequent of their Principles. It had been indeed more discreetly done to have ordered this only to be infused unto Peoples Consciences, by their Confessors in secret. And for *Mariana*, tho the Book in gross is condemned, as they give out, yet the Opinions set down in it are not censured. But (a) *Suarez* writing against *K. James*, tells him in plain Terms, *That a King, who is canonically deposed, may be killed by any man whatsoever.* This was not only published with an ordinary License, but the whole University of *Alcala* declared every thing in it to be according to the Doctrine of the Church. *Valentia*, tho he disguises it a little, yet says, *That an Heretical Prince may by the Popes Sentence be deprived of his Life.* (b) *Foulis* cites ten more Doctors for the same Opinion of killing Kings by private persons.

I do not build upon the Assertions of these Jesuits, as binding Authorities in that Church, but make use of them to shew, that some of their own eminentest Writers acknowledg the force of this Consequence; which is indeed so evident, that nothing but good Manners, and some small Care not to provoke Princes too much by such bare-faced Positions, keeps others from asserting it. Few Princes are so tame as *Childeric* was, to go into a Monastery after they are deposed. Therefore this Doctrine is but a lame provision for the Churches Security from Heresie, if the Lawfulness of killing does not follow that of deposing Kings. And it was so generally received, that it is told of *Gerson*, that he was at great pains to get it declared that no private Cut-throat might kill a King, and that by consequence it was only the

(a) In regiam
Majest. Br. l.
6. c. 4. sect. 20,
à quocunque
privato pote-
ris interfici.

In Thom. Tom.
3. D. sp. 1. 51.
q. 12. p. 2.
(b) *Romish*
Tre Jons, 1. 2.
cap. 4.

The Life of
Gerson before
his Works, and
Tom. 1. p. 375.

the Popes Prerogative to order them to be destroyed.

By the second Position about the Nature of Supreme Power, that in extraordinary Cases Forms of Law may be superseded; It is also clear, that tho we know nothing of any Sentence of Deposition given out against the King, yet he is not a whit the safer, for he lies under an yearly Curse every *Maundy Thursday*. The Notoriousness of his Heresy will sufficiently justify a particular Sentence, without any further Process or Citation, according to the Maxims of the Canon Law. And there may be for ought we can know, as valid a Deposition as Parchment and Lead can make it, already expedited. And if it be not yet done, we are sure it may be done very suddenly, and will be done whensoever they see any probability of Success.

Bellarmino hath very sincerely told us the Reason why Heretical Princes are not deposed, because the Church has not strength enough to make such a Sentence good, or does not think it expedient; that is to say, They will do it whensoever they find a Prince who will execute the Sentence, and yet by that Conquest not grow so strong, as by that means to turn the Ballance. So the two Considerations to which we owe our Security are, the want of Force, and the Fear of another Prince his becoming too powerful by the Conquest. But I must add, that *Bellarmino*, while he was a Jesuite, had taught, that Heretical Princes were not to be deposed, except they endeavoured to turn their people from the Faith: This was all his Bounty to them, of which we could not pretend to a Crumb, since there were such Laws made against Popery among us. Yet when he became a Cardinal, he considered better of the Matter; so that in his Recognitions he retracts that, and says therein be followed *Durandus* his Opinion, who maintains it against *Aquinas*,

Recog. in lib.
5. de Rom.
Pont.

but he thinks the latter was in the right, and says, *Even in that Case they may be deposed, only the Church does it not always; either because she wants Strength, or does not judge it expedient.* But he concludes, *If Princes endeavour to draw their Subjects from the Faith, they may and ought to be deposed.* So in our Case there is no Mercy to be expected, unless we repeal all Laws against that Religion.

But after all this there is another Device in the Canon-Law, called, *Ipsa facto*, by which a Sentence is incurred immediately upon the doing of a Fact. This began in the Privileges granted to Monasteries or Churches, in most of which this Clause is to be found, *That if any King or Prince, &c. did any thing contrary to these Privileges, he thereby fell from his Power and Dignity.* Now that Heresy is one of the things upon which a Prince is *ipso facto* under Excommunication and Deposition, we have the Authority of Father (e) Parsons, or Creswel, who tells us, *That the whole School of Divines and Canonists agree in it, and, That it is certain, and of Faith, That a Prince falling from the Catholick Religion, and endeavouring to draw away others from it, does immediately fall from all his Power and Dignity, even before the Pope has pronounced any Sentence, and that his Subjects are free from their Oaths of Obedience, and may eject such an one as Apostate and Heretick.*

But there is a clearer Evidence for this; the great and famous College of the Sorbon, (seventy Doctors being present) when consulted, whether the People of France were not freed from their Obedience to Henry the third, upon his putting the Duke and Cardinal of Guise to death; they, before ever the Pope had given Sentence, declared, *That they were absolved from their Obedience, and might with a good Conscience make War upon him for the defence of the Catholick Faith.* Upon which the Parisians wrote

(e) Philopater
p. 106, 107.

wrote to the Pope to desire the Confirmation of that Decision. From all which it appears, that if the deposing Power be in the Pope, the King is not a whit the safer, because we know nothing of any such Sentence pronounced against him.

And thus having made good and illustrated the Positions I laid down, against all the Exceptions which that small and condemned Party of *Widdrington's* Followers make use of, to cover themselves from the Charge of Treason, that lies against their Church; I go next to lay open the Evidence, after which I shall leave it to every Man's Conscience to pass the Verdict.

There are in (f) Pope Gregory the Great's Works, four Priviledges granted; one to the Abbey of St. *Medard*, another to the Hospital, a third to the Nunnery, a fourth to St. *Martin's* Church of *Autim*. In which after the Priviledges are granted, a Sanction is added in these words; *If any Kings, &c. shall endeavour to countervene this Writing, let him lose the Dignity of his Power and Honour.* Or shorter, in that of St. *Medard*, *Let him be deprived of his Dignity.* These are to be found both in all the MSS, and Printed Editions of that Popes Works. It is true, the first of these to Saint *Medard's* Monastery, is looked on as a forged Piece, both by Cardinal *Perron*, *Sirmond*, and *Lannoy*. But as it went for a true one till of late, and is still defended by others, *Baronius* in particular, concluding from thence for the Popes Power over Kings; so the other Priviledges are not denied to be true by any, except *Lannoy* of late, for ought I know. These have been for above 600 years looked on as the Grants of that Pope. But this may seem a private Writing, and not of such force.

About 130 years after that, Pope (g) Gregory the 3d (g) *Baron. ad An. 730. n. 5.* deposed *Leo* the Emperor, from all his Dominions in Italy,

(f) Greg. M. l. 2
post Ep. 38. lib.
11. Ep. 10, 11
12. Siquis Reg-
um, &c. con-
travenire ten-
taverit pote-
statis honorif-
que sui digni-
tate careat. ---
in alio hono-
re suo prive-
tur.

(b) Bellar. de
Transf. Imper-
rii Romani.

Italy, because he would not tolerate the Worship of I-
mages: And if that single Heresie merited such a Sentence
what may we look for, among whose many imputed Er-
rors this is but one, and none of the most considerable?
Not many years after that, did his Successor *Zacharias*
upon a Message he received from *France*, absolve that
Nation from their Oaths to *Childeric*, and ordered *Boni-
face* to Crown *Pepin* in his stead And not long after that
Pope *Adrian* gave the Empire of *Rome*, and of the West
to *Charles* the Great. As (b) *Bellarmino* proves from above
30 of the Historians of that time, and the Testimony of
many Sovereign Princes. Yet these being dark Ages, in
which there was more of Action than Dispute, we do
not find the Grounds laid down, on which those Pro-
ceedings were founded. But the constant Maxim of the
Papacy, was, once to begin a Practice, and then to find
Arguments to defend it, among which the Practice it
self was no inconsiderable one; for he was a mean spi-
rited Pope, that would in a Tittle fall short of what his
Predecessors had assumed. About 250 years after *Charles*
the Great had assumed the Empire of the West, there
arose a Pope (*Gregory* the Seventh) that resolved to
make the most of his See that could be: and reckoning,
That the Empire of the West was the Gift of his Pre-
decessors, and building on that known Maxim, That
none can give that which they have not, he looked on
the supreme Dominion of it, as one of the Perquisites of
the See, which he would by no means part with. And
therefore in his (i) *Disputis*, in which he asserts the
several Branches of his Prerogative, these be three of
them: That the Pope only may use the Imperial Ensigns.
That he may depose Emperours. And, That he can absolve
Subjects from their Fidelity to wicked Princes. And to
shew he was in earnest in these Doctrines, he began soon

(i) Diſtatus
l. 2. post Ep.
55.

to lay about him: His first Threatnings were against King *Philip* of *France*, who was a vicious Prince: In a Letter to the Bishops of *France*, he requires them to admonish the King for his Faults, and if he did not mend them, to put the whole Kingdom under an Interdict: And if after all that he continued still Disobedient, he Swaggers out in these Words, (k) *We will have none to be ignorant, or doubtful, what we intend to do upon it; for by the help of God we will endeavour by all Means, to wrest the Kingdom of France out of his Possession.* But upon the submission of that King, these Threatnings came not to any effect: Yet he went on against the Emperor, *Hen.* the 4th, at the rate he had threatned the King of *France*. I need not tell what all the World know: That he first Excommunicated and Deposed the Emperor, in the Year 1076. Then upon his doing of Penance, he received him into his Favour. But upon new provocations he deposed him a second, a third, and fourth time, in the years 1080, 1081, and 1083. In all which he had the concurrence of so many *Roman* Councils, and set up against him, first *Rodolph*, after that *Herman*: as his Successors did; first *Conrade*, and then *Henry*, that Emperor's unnatural Sons.

(k) Lib. 2.
Ep. 5. ad Ep.
France.

The prosecution of the History, is needless to my Design. But in his Letter to *Herman*, Bishop of *Mets*, (l) we meet with that which is more considerable. For there he largely justifies his Proceedings, which he grounds on the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, being given to *St. Peter*; and the power of Binding and Loosing joined to them. More places of Scripture he sought not, but his Successor, (m) *Boniface* the 8th, made use of *Ecce duo Gladii*, and the power given to the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *Over Kingdoms, to Root out, Pull down, Destroy, Throw down, to Build, and to plant*: And they took

(l) Liv. 8.
Ep. 21.

(m) Extra. de
Major. &
Obed. cap. 1.

took it in great dudgeon, if any would compare a single Prophet under the Law, to Christ's Vicar under the Gospel. But *Gregory* goes on in his Proofs, to the Tradition of the Church: And says, The Fathers had often both in General Councils, and in their particular Writings acknowledged, That this Power was in the See of *Rome*; That it was the Mother and Head of all other Churches: That all matters were to be judged by it, from whose Sentence no Appeal could lye: Nor could there be a Review made of the Judgments passed in that See. And to confirm what he had asserted, he cites some Passages out of *Gelasius*, and *Julius*, and that Clause in the Priviledges granted by *Gregory* the Great, formerly mentioned. So here he very fully and formally delivers the Tradition of the Church, and builds upon it. He also cites the Precedent of Pope *Zacharias*, his Deposing *Childeric*, not for any fault he found in him, but because he thought him not fit to Govern. From that he goes on to some Reasons, (such as they are) for the justification of his Proceedings. The Pope having thus declared the Tradition and Doctrine of the Church, it is not to be wondered at, if both the Schoolmen mixt it with the Instructions they gave their Scholars, and the Canonists made it a part of the Law of the Church. (n) *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, *Alexander Alensis*, *Bonaventure*, *Durand*, *Peter of Aliac*, *John of Paris*, *Almain*, *Gabriel Biel*, *Henry of Ghant*, *John Driodo*, *John de Terre iremata*, *Albert Pighius*, *Thomas Waldensis*, *Petrus de Palude*, *Cajetan*, *Franciscus Victoria*, *Dominicus a Soto*, and many others, (in all 70 are reckoned by *Bellarmin*, but *Foulis* enlarges the number to 177, whom he cites, who) did formally assert it. *Aquinas* also taught it; tho' in some places he contradicted himself. But (a) *Boniface* the 8th, thought his Predecessors had

(n) *Bellar.*
de Pont. Rom.
lib. 5. c. 151.

(a) *Cuspinian*
in vita Albert.

had proceeded in this matter too cautiously, and therefore he went more roundly to work. In the Jubilee in the year 1300, He shewed himself the first day in the Pontifical Habit, but the second day, he was clothed with the Imperial Habit, a naked Sword being carried before him, and cried out with a loud voice, *I am Pope and Emperor, and have both the Earthly, and Heavenly Empire.* This upon so publick an occasion looks very like the Teaching the Church *Ex Cathedra*: But because words vanished into Air, he left it in writing, in these terms : (p) *We say* and define and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to Salvation for every humane creature, to be subject to the Bishop of Rome. This being put into the Text of the Canon Law, in which it is continued to this day ; we cannot think it Strange that *Panormitan, Ostiensis, Silverster*, with all the other Canonists assert the Popes direct Dominion over all the World. And what can they say less, Believing him to be Christs Vicar on Earth, to whom all Power in heaven and earth was given of his Father, therefore the power in Heaven being judged enough for Christ to manage himself, they thought all the power in Earth was Committed to the Vicar. This passed down without Contradiction among them, but was not received by the rest of the Church : yet the Indirect, or as they termed it, the Ecclesiastical power in cases of Heresie was Universally agreed to : not one person Opposing it, till *Luther* and his Followers came, sawcily to look into the Popes Title to this, and many other pretended Rights of the See of *Rome*.

But because the Plea for an Indirect Power, was not Sufficient, Since if a Prince did not Favour Heresie, it was of no use: And the pretention to a direct power was of an harsh sound : Therefore a Title of another kind was set up. It was pretended, That all the Kingdoms

(p) *Cap. de
Major. ut O-
bed. Exter.*

in the Western and Northern parts of *Europe* were by formal Surrenders offered up to *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*; And therefore whatever the Popes did, was said to be done in Defence of their Rights; which made *Gregory* the 7th fly to them in that flanting Address, with which he begins his Sentences against the Emperor.

First of all, the Donation of *Constantine* the Great was forged: By which the Power of all the West, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *England*, were given to the Pope. This was put into the Text of the Canon Law: and was stood to, by all the Canonists. It is true the Civilians wrote generally against it. Among whom *Bartholus* may be reckoned, for in his Preface to the *Digests* having mentioned the Opinions of some against it, when it comes to his own, he delivers it thus; *Take notice that we are now in the Territory of the Church (for he taught at Bulloigne) and therefore I say that Donation is valid.* But till *Valla* discovered the Impostures of it so manifestly, that they are now ashamed to maintain it any longer, their plea from it was never laid down. But *Augustinus Stenchus*, who undertakes the Vindication of that Donation against *Valla*, does likewise alledge from some Instruments in the *Vatican*, that both the Kingdoms of *Spain*, *Arragon*, *France*, *England*, *Denmark*, *Muscovy*, *Sicily*, and *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, did Subject their Crowns to the See of *Rome*. (b) *Kranitzius* tells us, that *Lakold* King of *Poland*, made it Tributary to *Rome*. And for the German Empire, tho *Stenchus* says nothing of it, perhaps that he might not offend *Charles* the 5th, yet there is both in the Canon Law, and the Letters of Popes, more to be said upon that Head, than for any of the rest. They pretend the Popes set up first the Empire of the West: Then gave the Princes of *Germany* the Right of choosing the Emperor, and does still give the Imperial

(b) In *Vandal*
l. 8. c. 2.

perial Crown, upon the Emperors Swearing an Oath of Homage to them, according to the verse under that Insolent Picture set up by Pope *Innocent* the 2d. In the *Late-ram* (r) of the Emperor lying prostrate at his feet, and receiving the Crown from him.

(r) *Chron Hir.*
saug. in vita.
Abb. Harti-
ingi.

Post homō fit Papæ, sumit quo dante Coronam.

But all these Surrenders were made use of only to strengthen the great pretention they had of being Christs Vicars, and St. *Peters* Successours; which from the end of the 11th Century, till the beginning of the 16th. for above 4 Ages together was as Authoritatively asserted by Popes, as positively taught by Divines, and as tamely received by the whole Church, Emperors and Kings not presuming to contradict it, as any other Article of Faith. And for proofs of this we need appeal to no other witnesses than those 3. great Cardinals *Barenius*, *Bellarmin* and *Perron*, who may be presumed to have understood the Doctrine of their own Church, better than any body else.

The First of those, through his whole work strains his Industry, to discover as many Instances as he can of it: and never parts with any without expressing the particular satisfaction he had in so pleasant a Discovery. I shall only set down what he says on the two 1st. occasions that he met with. When he takes notice of *Gregory* the Great's privileges formerly mentioned, he adds, (1) *You see Reader, That the Popes can make Laws, to which if Kings themselves do not yield Obedience, they shall lose their Kingdoms.* Upon the first Deposition made by *Gregory* the 3d. He adds, (2) *The Faithful in the West being awake- ned by this Thunder, do immediately fall from the Obedi- ence to Leo, adhering to this Apostolical Pope.* So this

(1) *Bar. ad*
Ann. 593.
Nam. 86.

(2) *Bar. ad An-*
730. Nam. 5.

Gregory left a worthy Precedent to Posterity, that Heretical Princes, be not suffered to reign in the Church of Christ, if having been often admonished, they continue to persist obstinately in their Errors. Such strains as these do so often occur afterwards, that they can scarce be reckoned. It is well known what advice he gave P. Paul the 5th in the quarrel with the *Venetians*, applying the voice to St. Peter, *Arise and Kill*, to the case in hand; and that, with his Insolent *Paranesis* to that Republick, are clear Evidences of his sense in this matter. What *Bellarmin* taught more shortly and obscurely in his Controversies, was afterward, made more plain both by his Writings, about the Translation of the *Roman Empire*, upon the Interdict of *Venice*, and against King *James*, and *William Barklay*: And Cardinal *Perrons* Eloquent speech against the Bill put in by the Third Estate of *France*, for Condemning those pretensions of a Deposing Power, shews us not only his own sense, but the sense of the whole Clergy of *France*; in whose name he delivered it. (u) He calls the Contrary Opinion, a *Doctrine that breeds Schisms, a Gate that leads unto all Heresie, and so detestable, that he and his Fellow Bishops will choose to burn at a Stake rather than consent to it.* He affirming That all the parts of the *Catholic Church*, and of the Church of *France* in particular, and all the Schools of Divinity, till the coming of Calvin, held the affirmative, and says, That no where in *France* since the Divinity Schools were set up, can they find any one Doctor, Divine, or Lawyer, any Decree, Council, or Sentence of Parliament, or any one Magistrate Ecclesiastick, or Politick, who had held that in case of Heresie or Idolatry, Subjects might not be absolved from their Oaths of Fidelity to their Princes. It is true, at first he spake more modestly, and pretended the thing was problematical, and so was not fit matter for an Oath: but when that mode-

ster

(u) In his Diverses Oeuvres and Recueil General des Affaires du Clerge de France.

fter Strain (tho it tended all to deprefs the Regal, and exalt the Papal Power) had fo far prevailed with the King, that he ordered the matter to be laid afide, and not to be further infifted on. They were not fatisfied with this, but made a new Addrefs in the Name of the Clergy; and the Cardinal fpoke now in a higher tone, afferting formally the Popes indirect Power in Temporals; and that all who maintained the contrary were Schismatics, and Hereticks, even thofe of the Parliament it felf; and did plainly threaten the King, That if he did not raze all the Proceedings out of the Register, the Clergy would leave the Affembly, and Excommunicate all who denied the Popes Power of Depofing. And if the King would not fuffer them to execute thefe Cenfures, they would proceed upon their hazard tho they were to fuffer Martyrdom for it. For which zeal, they received a Breve from the Pope, giving them his folemn Thanks for what they had done; defiring them to perfevere in the fame mind. So we have in this Inftance, not only Cardinal *Perrons* own mind, but the fense of the whole Clergy of *France*.

I do not think it neceffary to enquire further into the opinion of later Writers; tho it were eafie to fhew, that to this day, both the Court of *Rome*, the whole Order of the *Jefuites*, the Writers both of Controverfies, and Cafes of Confcience, and the Expositors of Scripture, do as oft as occafion offers, affert the power of Depofing Kings to be ftill in the See of *Rome*. And tho fome few Writers of that Religion, fince *Barkelay* and *Widdrington's* time, both of the *Englifh* and *Irifh* Nation, have adventured to deny this power; they have been cenfured for it, and branded with Heresy. This has been fo notorious in the matter of the *Irifh* Remonftrance, that I need fay no more of it.

But

But whether the Writers of this Age allow it or not, they are bound according to their Doctrine about Tradition, to acknowledg it; since two of the Characters of Tradition are found to agree to it. For it has been delivered in several Ages of the Church, as true Catholick Doctrine by all the publick Doctors in these times: so that either This is a Tradition of the Church, or That is not a true mark of Tradition: nor is it a certain conveyance of Truth, if we may be thus deceived in a clear Tradition, for four Ages successively. It does also appear, that if the See of *Rome* be a faithful Depositary and Transmitter of Church Traditions, this must be one, since it is delivered to the world by so many Popes in the names of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and founded on the *Power of the Keys*, and of *Binding and Loosing* granted to *St. Peter*.

But I shall next shew how the third mark of Tradition, the Authority of General Councils, agrees to this Doctrine. When this Doctrine had been so well spread over *Europe*, then the Popes found it was safe, to trust it to the judgment of such an Assembly as they esteemed a General Council. And they proceeded in this matter, after the same manner that they had done in the worship of Images: and as they did afterwards in the points of Transubstantiation, and denying the Chalice in the Communion. They took care first to infuse it into all the Clergy, (which God'wot's was no hard thing) and then brought them together, and made up the Pageant of a Council, for giving it more authority. So above an hundred years after *Gregory* the VII. had first taught this Doctrine, a thing under the name of a General Council fate in the *Lateran* at *Rome*, where, upon the advantage the Popes had against the *Albigenses* and others, who were according to their Opinion most pestiferous Hereticks; they first procured a Decree for it. It is true, many Provincial

vincial Councils had concurred with Gregory the VII. (one of these is called a General one, 110 Bishops being present) and the other Popes who had formerly given out these Thunders : But now the matter was to be more solemnly Transacted.

In this Council many Hereticks are condemned and Excommunicated; and all that had sworn Oaths of Fidelity or Homage to them, are Absolved from those Oaths : *Conc. Lat. 3. Chap. 27. anno 1287. Tom 28.* and they are required in order to the obtaining the Remission of their sins, to fight against them : and those who die doing penance in that manner, may without doubt expect Indulgence for their sins, with eternal rewards. And in conclusion, by the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul they Remit to all who shall rise and fight against them, two years Penance. Here the Council does industriously infuse this Doctrine into all people ; and calls Rebellion Penance (a very easy one to a poor or discontented Subject) and assures them of a deliverance from Purgatory, and that they should be admitted straight to Heaven for it. In an Age in which these things were believed, more effectual means than those could not be found out, to engage the people in it.

By this Decree, if we are guilty of the Heresies then condemned, (as no doubt we are of most of them) without more ado, or any further Sentence, upon the declaring us guilty of the Heresies of the *Albigenses*, the Subjects are delivered from their obligations to the King. And when they conspire or rebel against him, they are only doing penance for their sins ; and he were hard-hearted that would punish men only for doing of penance.

About thirty years after that Council, the Pope had a mind to regulate the former Law, That the Deposing of Kings might be declared a part of his Prerogative ; and that

that thereby he might with authority Dispose of their Kingdoms to others. For hitherto the Popes had only pretended to the Power of Deposing, and then the States of the Kingdom as in an Interregne, were to choose a new Prince. But P. Innocent the III. thought it was half work, except he could bestow, as well as take away Crowns. His Predecessor Celestine had in a most extravagant humour set the Crown on Henry the Sixth his head, with his two feet, and then kickt it off again; to shew, according to *Barronius* his Comment, *That it was in his power to give, to maintain, and take away the Empire.*

*Conc. Later. 4.
Can. 3. Tom. 28.
The same
Council that
established
Transubstan-
tiation.*

A very full Assembly therefore being called of about 1200 of one sort or other to the *Literan* again, It was first Decreed, *That the aid of Secular Princes should be required for the Extirpating of Hereticks;* after that they proceed and enact thus. *When the Temporal Lord required or admonished by the Church, shall neglect to purge his Territory from Heretical wickedness, let him be Excommunicated by the Metropolitan and his Suffragans. And if he persist in neglecting to give satisfaction for the space of a year, let him be signified to the Pope: That he from thenceforth may pronounce his Subjects discharged from their Obedience; and expose his Territory to be seized on by Catholicks, who having exterminated the Hereticks, shall possess it without contradiction, and preserve it in the purity of the Faith; so as no injury be done to the Right of the Supreme Lord, where there is such, provided he do not any way oppose himself: and the same Law is to take place on them, who have no Superiour Lord.*

The Deposition of the Court of *Tholouse*, being the thing then in their eye, made that the Decree runs chiefly against Feudatary Princes, yet as the last Clause takes in Sovereign Princes, so by the Clause before, it was provided, *That if the Sovereign did any way Oppose what*

was done against his Vassal, he was to forfeit his Right. I did in the former part of this Letter, meet with all the Exceptions that are commonly made to this Canon. Only one pretty Answer which a person of Honour makes, is yet to be considered. He tells us, that there were so many Sovereign Princes, or Ambassadors from them, at this Council, that we are to look on this Decree, as a thing to which those Princes consented. From whence he infers, It was rather their Act, than an Invasion of their Rights made by that Council. But be it so, he knows they allow no Prescription against the Church. If then those Princes consented to it, upon which the power of Deposing had that Accession to fortifie it by, it can never be recalled nor prescribed against. It is true there were many Ambassadors from Princes there: But they were all such as either held their Dominions by the Popes Grant, or had been either Deposed by him, or Threatened with Depositions, or were the Children of those whom he had Deposed. So no wonder they stood in such fear of the Pope, that they durst not refuse to consent to every thing he had a mind to. For indeed this Council did only give their *Placet* to a paper of Decrees penned by the Pope.

Henry called the Greek Emperor, Brother to *Bildwin*, that had seized on *Constantinople*, had no other Title to it besides the Popes Gift. *Frederick* the 2d. who had been the Popes Ward, was then the Elect Emperor of *Germany*, made so at the Popes Instance, who had Deposed the two Immediately preceding Emperours, *Philip* and *Otho* the 4th. the last being at that time alive; So that he durst not contradict the Pope, lest he should have set up *Otho* against him. But no Emperor, except *Henry* the 4th, ever suffered more from the Popes Tyranny, than he did afterwards. One sad Instance of it was, that the Pope having

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pressed

pressed his March to the Holy-land much, did at last Excommunicate him for his delays: upon which, he to avoid further censures, carried an Army thither: which was so succesful, that the Pope who hoped he should have been destroyed in the Expedition, (as the first Emperor of that name was) now being vexed at his Success, complained that he should have presumed to go thither, while he lay under Excommunication, and was in Rebellion against him; and went about not only to Dethrone him, but to get him to be betrayed by the Knights Hospitallers, and Templers, into the Sultans hands, who abominating that Treachery, revealed it to him.

John of Brenne had the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* by that same Popes Gift, who took it from *Almeric* King of *Cyprus*, and gave it him; But *Almeric* had no cause to complain, since he held *Cyprus* only by the same Copy of the Popes Gift: So they both were at the Popes Mercy. Our *John* of *England* was his Vassal, as he usually called him; But his Successour went higher, calling the King of *England* not only his Vassal, but *his Slave*; and Declared That at his beck he could procure him to be Imprisoned, and Disgraced. *James* King of *Arragon*, who was also the Popes Ward, had no less reason to be afraid of the Pope, who had Deposed his Father for Assisting the Count of *Thelouise*. *Philip Augustus* King of *France*, had his Kingdom twice put under an Interdict, worse things being also threatned. The like Threatnings had been made to *Andrew* King of *Hungary*, but upon his Submission he was received into favour.

Math. Paris.
ad An. 1253.

And now is it any wonder, that those Princes gave way to such a Decree, when they knew not how to help themselves by Opposing it, which would have raised a Storm, that they could not hope to weather?

Another thing is remarkable concerning this time, by which

which the Belief of the Deposing Doctrine in that Age will better appear. Other Princes whom Popes had Deposed, procured some Civilians to write for them ; and got Synods of Bishops sometimes on their side against the Pope. Because it was evident the Pope proceeded not upon the Account of Heresie, but of private spite and hatred. But in the case of the Count of *Tholouse*, who was a manifest Favourer of that, which was esteemed Heresie, (the Opinions of the *Alligerfes* that were his Subjects) not a Writer in all that Age durst undertake to defend his cause, nor could he procure one Bishop to be of his side. So universally was it received, that in the case of Heresie, a Prince might be Deposed by the Pope.

The 3d General Council that Confirmed this Power, was the Council of *Lien*, held by *Innocent* the 4th against the forementioned *Frederick* the 2d, where (as the Sentence bears) *The Pope having Consulted with his Brethren and the Holy Council, being Christs Vicar on Earth, to whom it was said in the person of St. Peter, whatsoever ye bind on Earth, &c. Declares the Emperor bound in his sins, and therefore Deprived by God of his Dominion. Whereupon he by his sentence does Depose him, and absolves all from their Oaths of Fidelity to him. Straitly charging all persons, to acknowledge him no more either Emperor or King. Declaring all that did otherwise, Excommunicated ipso facto.* There are in this Process several things very remarkable. It is grounded on a pretence to a Divine Tradition; So here the whole Council concur with the Pope, in asserting this power to flow from that Convoyance. And thus either that Tradition is true, or the Councils are not to be believed when they Declare a Tradition. 2ly. Tho this is but a Decree in one particular Instance, yet it is founded on the General Rule; And so is a Confirmation of it, by which it is put out of doubt that the 4th Council of *Lateran* included Sovereign Prin-

*Conc. Lugd.
Tom. 28.*

es within their Decree. 3ly, When the Emperors Advocate appeared to plead for him ; He did not at all except to their Jurisdiction over him, or Power of Deposing in the case of Heresie, but denyed that the Emperor was guilty of the crimes Objected, namely Heresie, whereby he, at least, waved the denial of their Power in that case. He also desired some time might be granted for the Emperor to appear and plead for himself in person. Whereby he plainly acknowledged their Jurisdiction. 4ly When the Ambassadors of *France* and *England*, Interceded that the Emperors desire might be granted ; the Council gave him near two weeks time to appear in : which was so incompetent a time, and all had declared themselves so prepossessed, or rather so overawed by the Pope that hated him Mortally ; That the Emperor would not appear because they were his professed Adversaries. And upon that, and other grounds (none of them touching on the power of Deposing in cases of Heresie) He appealed from them, to the next General Council ; Upon which the Pope and Prelates sitting in Council, with Candles burning in their hands, thundred out the Sentence against him.

Here were three very publick Judgments, of three General Councils on this Head, within the compass of sixty years. But it may be imagined, these were Councils that wholly depended on the Pope ; and so their Decrees are to be looked on, only as a Ceremony used by the Pope to make his own Sentence look more solemn. But when upon the long Schism in the See of *Rome*, the power of that See was much shaken, and a Council met at *Constance* to heal that Breach ; in which the Bishops taking advantage from that Conjuncture, to recover their former Dignity, began to Regulate many matters. It may be, upon such an occasion, expected, that if any Party in the Church had disliked these practices, they should have
been

been now condemned; and that the rather, since by so doing, the Bishops might have hoped to get the Princes to be of their side, in their Contests with the Pope. But it fell out quite otherwise. For as the Murtherers of his late Sacred Majesty pretended, when the King was killed, that all his power was devolved on them, and would have even the same precedence allowed their Ambassadors in forreign parts, that his had: So the Council of *Constance* reckoned, that whatever Rights the Popes had assumed, did now rest with them, as the Supreme Power of the Church. For in one of their Sessions, a Decree was framed, made up of all the severe Decrees that had ever been made, against those who violated the Rights of the Church: And this Clause often returns, *That all the Breakers of these Priviledges, whether they were Emperors, Kings, or whatsoever other Degree, were thereby, ipso facto, subjected to the Banns, Punishments, and Censures set down in the Council of Lateran.* And tho they do not call it the Fourth Council, yet we are sure it could be no other; for they relate to that in which *Frederick* the 2d. was consenting to, which was the fourth in the *Lateran* And in another Decree, by which they hoped to have set up a Succession of General Councils, at every ten years end; this Clause is added, *That if any person, whether of the* *Conc. Const.*
Tom. 29. Sess.
19.
Papal (for they had subjected the Pope to the Council, and had more reason to fear his opposing this Decree, than any Bodies else) *Imperial or Regal Dignity, &c. should presume to hinder any to come to the next General Council, he is declared to be first Excommunicated, then under an Interdict, and then to be subject to further punishment both Temporal and Spiritual.* And in the Pass they gave the King of the *Romans*, to go to the King of *Arragon*. they add this Sanction, *That whatever person, whether King, Cardinal, &c. do hinder him in his Journey, he is ipso facto,* *Sess. 15.*
Sess. 17.
deprived of all Honour, Dignity, Office, or Benefice, whether
Ecclē-

Sess. 15.

Ecclesiastical or Secular. So here the indirect power over Princes, by which they may be both deposed and punished, is plainly assumed. It is true that same Council did indeed Decree, That no Subject should murder his King or Prince; upon which some of our *English* and *Irish* Writers, who condemn these practices, think they have great advantages. That Decree was procured by *Gerfins* means, who observing that by the many Rebellions that had been generally set on by Popes, the Persons of Princes were brought under such contempt, that private Assassinations came to be practised: and in particular that of the Duke of Orleans by the Duke of *Burgundy*. Therefore to prevent the fatal consequences which were like to follow on that, and to hinder such practices for the future, he with great earnestness followed that matter: And tho it had almost cost him his life (it is like from some of the Duke of Orleans his Faction, who were resolved on a Revenge) yet at last he procured it: But this was only a Condemnation of private Cut-throats. And the Article condemned had a pretty Reservation in it, for it strikes only against Subjects killing their Prince, *without waiting for the Sentence of any Judge whatsoever*. So if a Sentence be past by the Spiritual Judge, then this Condemnation notwithstanding, a Prince may be Murdered. And the other Decree of that Council passed in the same Session, shew they had no mind to part with the Deposing Power. Besides the Answer to this Decree is clear. It is acknowledged by the Defenders of the contrary opinion, That it is not lawful in any case to kill a King; but when one that was a King is no more such, but becomes a Rebel and an Usurper, then it is lawful to kill him.

Con. Sien.
Tom. 29.

Pursuant to the Decree made at *Constance*, a Council met at *Siena* ten years after, in which all the former Decrees made against Hereticks are confirmed, and the Favourers or *Faintors* of Heresie are declared liable to all the pains

pains and censures of Hereticks, and by consequence to the chief of them all, *Deposition*.

After that came the Council of *Basil*, which ratified the forementioned Decree made at *Constance* about General Councils. By which Popes, Emperors, Kings, &c. that presumed to hinder any from coming to the Council, are subjected to Excommunication, Interdicts and other Punishments Spiritual and Temporal. *Con. Basil Tom. 29.*

Last of all came the Council of *Trent*, and tho' matters were at that pass, that the Council durst not tread on Princes, as others had formerly done, lest they should have been thereby provoked to join with the Protestants; yet they would not quite lay aside the pretence of a Deposing power, but resolved to couch it so into some Decree, that it might continue their claim to a Right, which they would not part with, tho' they knew not at that time what to make of it. So in the Decree against Duels, they declare, *That if any Emperors, Kings, &c. did assign a field for a Combat, that they did thereby lose their Right to that place, and the City, Castle, or other places about it.* Now it is certain, if by their Decrees a Prince may forfeit any part of his Dominion, he may be also dispossessed of all the rest; since his Title to his whole Territory being one individual thing, what shakes it in any part, subjects it entirely to him who has such authority over it. *Conc. Trid. Sess. 25 c. 19.*

Here we have found 7 General Councils, as they are esteemed by that Church, all either expressly asserting the Deposing Power, or ratifying former Decrees that had asserted it. And from such a succession of Councils, it is reasonable to conclude, That this Third Character of a Tradition of the Church agrees to it; and if General Councils are fit Conveyors of Traditions, we have as full Evidence as can be desired, for proving this to be a Church-Tradition.

This last Character of a Tradition is what the whole Body

Body of the Church has held in any one Age. Upon which, they say, we may calculate that such opinions must have come down from the Apostles, since it seems neither credible nor possible, that the Belief of the Church could be changed. With this *Arnold* has of late made great noise. And as the new Fashions that come from *France* do please our young Gallants best, so some of the Writers of Controversies among us have taken up the same plea here. That the whole Church received the Deposing Doctrine in cases of Heresy, may be inferred from what had been said. The Church is made up of Popes, Bishops, & Priests: Of Sovereign Princes, and Subjects of all ranks. That the Popes believed it, none can doubt. So many Definitions of Councils, shews us as plainly what the Bishops and other Prelates believed: the Writing of the Schoolmen and Canonists shew, what the rest of the Clergy believed. Those Princes who suffered under the Sentences, give at least a tacit consent to it, since they never question it, but study only to clear themselves of the imputation of Heresy. The other Princes who made use of the Donations of the Popes, shew as plainly that they believed it. The great Armies that were brought about their Standards, must have also believed it: and the people who generally deserted the Deposed Prince, notwithstanding the great virtues of some of them, and the love that Subjects naturally carry to their Princes, shew that they believed it. So that if *St. James* his Question, *Shew me thy Faith by thy Works*, be applied to this particular, the Answer will be easie. What shall I mention the frequent depositions of *Charles* the 1st, of *Henry* the 4th, of his Son *Henry* the 5th, of *Frederick* the 1st, *Philip*, *Otho* the 4th, *Frederick* the 2d, and *Lewis* the 4th in the Empire. The frequent Depositions in *Sicily* and *Naples*; the many attempts upon *France*; that terrible Bull in particular of *Julius* the 2d, against that good King *Lewis* the twelfth.

By

By which, besides the Sentence against the King, it appears he designed the total destruction of the Nation, promising the Pardon of Sin to every one that killed one *French* Man; the frequent Attempts upon *England*, both in *Hen.* the 2d, and *K. John's* time; not to mention their later Bulls of Deposition against *K. Henry* the 8th, and *Q. Elizabeth*; the many Attempts in *Spain*; particularly, the deposing the King of *Navarre* by *P. Julius*; and the Sentences against *Henry* the 4th, then King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*. All these, and a great many more, with the strange Effects that followed upon them, are so clear Proofs of the Worlds believing this Doctrine, for many Ages together, that if Men had any Remainders of shame left with them, they could not deny it. And to this day all their Writers maintain it, tho perhaps now the greatest part of the Laity know little of it; but whenever the Tradition of the Church is laid before them, they are obliged to submit, or they fall from the Catholick Faith, the chief Branch of which is, To believe all the Traditions of the Church. And since the Church is the same in all Ages, according to their Doctrine, the Traditions of any one Age must be as good as the Traditions of any other can be, all being grounded on the same Authority.

And now let all the Reasons that *Arnold* brings to prove, from the Churches believing Transubstantiation in any Age, that she must have always believed it, be considered, and applied with a small variation of the Terms to this Purpose; and we shall see if they conclude not as strongly in favour of this Doctrine, as for that which he has pursued so much. *How can it be imagined*, says he, *that a Doctrine so contrary to common Sense and Reason, could have been so universally received, if every Man had not been taught it by those who instructed him in the*

Faith? Will Men easily change their Faith? Or, the particular Persons would prevaricate, would the whole Clergy conspire to do it? Or would the People take it easily off their hands. These and many more Topicks of that sort may be so mustered up, and set off by a Man of Wit and Eloquence, that an ordinary Person would stare, and not know what to say. The Premises will shew, that there is need but of very little Art to change the same Plea, and fit it to this purpose, with two great advantages beyond what can be fanci'd to be in the other. The one is, that the generality of Mankind is naturally more concerned in the preservation of Temporal things, than about nice points of Speculation; the one they see and handle every day, and are much concerned about; the other they hear little of, and are not much touched with them. So that it is less probable there could be a change made in opinions, on which the Titles of Princes, and the Peace of Kingdoms depended, than about subtil Discourses concerning Mysteries. So that the Plea is stronger for the Tradition of deposing Kings, than for Transubstantiation. A second Difference is, That there was a continual Opposition made to the belief of Transubstantiation in all Ages, which they themselves do not deny, only they shift it off the best they can, by calling the Opposers Hereticks; but for the deposing Doctrine, there was not one Person in the whole World, that presumed to bring it in question, from the first time it was pretended to, till those whom they call Hereticks disputed against it; and tho some few others, who hold Communion with them, have ventured on a canvassing of that Doctrine, it is well enough known what thanks they got from *Rome*; nor can they shew any one Book, licensed according to the Rules of their Church, that denies it. And thus the Plea for this Doctrine has a double Advantage

vantage beyond that for Transubstantiation.

Upon the whole matter then, if Tradition be a sure Conveyance, and if we may pronounce what is truly a Tradition, either from the Opinions of Doctors, the Constitutions of Popes, the Decrees of General Councils, and the universal Consent of the whole Church for some Ages; then the Doctrine of deposing Kings, to which all these agree, must be reckoned among Church-Traditions. There is but one other Mark that can be devised of a Tradition, which is, What the Church has taught and believed in all Ages; but for a certain Reason, which they know very well, they will not stand to that. They know we do not refuse such Traditions, and if only such may be received, then the Worship of Images, the Prayers to Saints, the Worship in an unknown Tongue, the Belief of Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the denying the Chalice to the Laity, the redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, with many other things of the like nature, will be soon taken off of the File. And indeed in this sense, the deposing Doctrine is so far from being a Tradition, that we have as undeniable Evidences, that the Church for the first six Ages knew nothing of it, but on the contrary abhorred the thoughts of it, as we have, that their Church these last six Ages has set it up: From which, among many other Reasons, we conclude, that these latter Ages have not been acted with the same Spirit, nor followed the same Doctrine, that was the Rule of the former Ages.

There is more than enough said to shew, that these Doctrines are a part of their Faith; from which they can never extricate themselves, but by confessing, either that their Church has erred, or that Tradition is no true Conveyance; when they do either of these, they turn their Backs on *Rome*, and are in a fair away to come over to our

Church, with which purpose I pray God inspire them.

The mean while, it is no wonder, if those of that Communion, have been guilty of such horrid Plots and Rebellions every where, especially in *England*, since *Henry*, the 8th's time. There was in his Reign, First a Rebellion in *Lincolnshire*, another greater one in the North, and some lesser ones after that. In *Edward* the 6th's time, there were Risings, both in the North, and in the West. But these succeeded so ill, and turned only to the ruine of their own Party, that they resolved to try secreter ways in Queen *Elizabeth's* time; in whose long and blessed Reign, there scarce passed one year in which there was not some Plot against her Life. There was not Matter enough to work upon, for raising any considerable Rebellion in *England*: But in *Ireland*, there were more frequent attempts that way. It is true, the Care and Providence of God was too hard for all their Plots, how closely soever laid; and they were turned back on themselves, not so much to the ruine of the chief Plotters (who were wise enough to convey themselves out of the way) as of many Noble Families, that were poisoned with their ill Principles. All the Blood which the State was forced to shed, lies at their door, who were continually giving fresh Provocations. And for King *James* (not to mention the Conspiracies against him in *Scotland*, nor that Plot of *Cobham* and *Watson*, upon his first coming to this Crown) the Gun-powder Treason was a thing that went beyond all the wicked Designs that had been ever in any Age contrived. And when his late Majesty was Embroiled in his Affairs in this Island, how did they take advantage from that Conjunction, to break out into a most horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, joyned with a Massacre of Persons of whatsoever Age, or Sex, or Condition? Which was so far set on by
Rome,

Rome, that a Nuncio came publickly to direct their Councils. I will not dwell on Particulars that are sufficiently known, but only name these things, to shew, That no Reign of any of our Princes, since the Reformation, has been free from the dismal effects of these Doctrines. And for his Sacred Majesty who now Reigns, (whom God long preserve from their Malice) they have felt such signal marks of his Royal Clemency, that they can have no colour to complain, except it be, because they cannot bear any Office in the Nation. For what Noise soever they make, of the severe Laws yet in force, both against the Clergy and Laity of their Religion, they cannot pretend that since his Majesties happy Restauration, any Priest has died, or any Family has been ruined for their Religion. But I confess, it is enough, according to the Doctrine of their Church, to discharge them of their Allegiance, That the King is a favourer of Heresy; and if upon this Reason they will still Plot and Conspire against his Person and Government, we have no reason to wonder at it, for they act according to their Principles.

Nor have these Islands been the only Scenes, in which those Principles have produced such dismal Effects. If we look abroad and reflect on what was done in *France*, we shall find, they have had the same Operation there. I need not mention that perfidious and cruel Massacre, that as *Thuanus* tells us was so much extolled in *Rome* and *Spain*: and of which the Pope has a Memorial kept in the Hangings, at the entrance of his Chappel, to this day. The Barricadoes of *Paris*, the design of Deposing *Henry* the 3^d, only because he had made Peace with the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*; the whole progress of the holy League; their taking Arms against that King, when the Duke and Cardinal of *Guise*
were

were killed by his Orders, and at last his being stabbed by *Clement*, a *Dominican* Friar, are Instances beyond exception. The prosecution of the Rebellion against *Henry* the 4th, the attempt made upon his Person by *John Chastel*, which was more successful in *Ravilliack's* hands, shew sufficiently, That a Prince's turning from that, which they call Heresie, over to their Church, does not secure him, unless he will extirpate Hereticks. For tho *Henry* the 4th changed his Religion, yet the favour he shewed the Protestants, in the Edict of *Nantes*, was a thing never to be forgiven. These things were set on and encouraged from *Rome*, and pleaded for by their Writers. That the holy League was authorized from *Rome*, that *Sixtus* the 5th, by his Bulls, declared the King of *Navar* incapable of the Succession; that he intended to have Deposed *Henry* the 3d, and that he joyced at his death, and magnified the Fact; preferring it to *Eleazar's* killing the Elephant, and *Judeth's* killing *Hollofernes*, and ascribed it to a singular Providence and Disposition of the Almighty; called it a great Miracle, and appeared vain that a Friar had done it, having been one himself, (tho no doubt he had liked it better, if *Clement* had been of his own sute) and would have had himself thought a Prophet for foretelling it, (and so he might well do perhaps): and in the end concluded, That unfortunate Kings favouring Hereticks, to be the unpardonable Sin against the Holy Ghost: These were all so publickly done, that it were a needless labour, to go about the proving them. *Francis Veronne* wrote a Book, to justify both the Facts of *Clement* the Dominican, and *Chastel*, (as well he might from the Principles of their Church). After all these dismal Facts, was it not time for the States of *France*, to think of some effectual Remedy, to prevent the like for the future? And they judged aright, that
without

without Condemning the Deposing Power, it could not be done: To which, as was already hinted, the Clergy made such vigorous Opposition, that it came to nothing.

*Discess. Decret.
Com. Lateran.
p. 46.*

If these things had flowed only from the heat of some violent Spirits, the danger were not so great; but it is the Doctrine of their Church, so *Lessius* (under the name of *Singletonus*) says, *That if the power of Deposing lies not in the Pope, the Church must of necessity Err; which has taught it; and to assert that, is Heretical, and a more intollerable Error, than any about the Sacrament can be.*

And *Becanus*, Confessor to *Ferdinand* the 2d, says, *No Man doubts, but if Princes are Contumacious, the Pope*

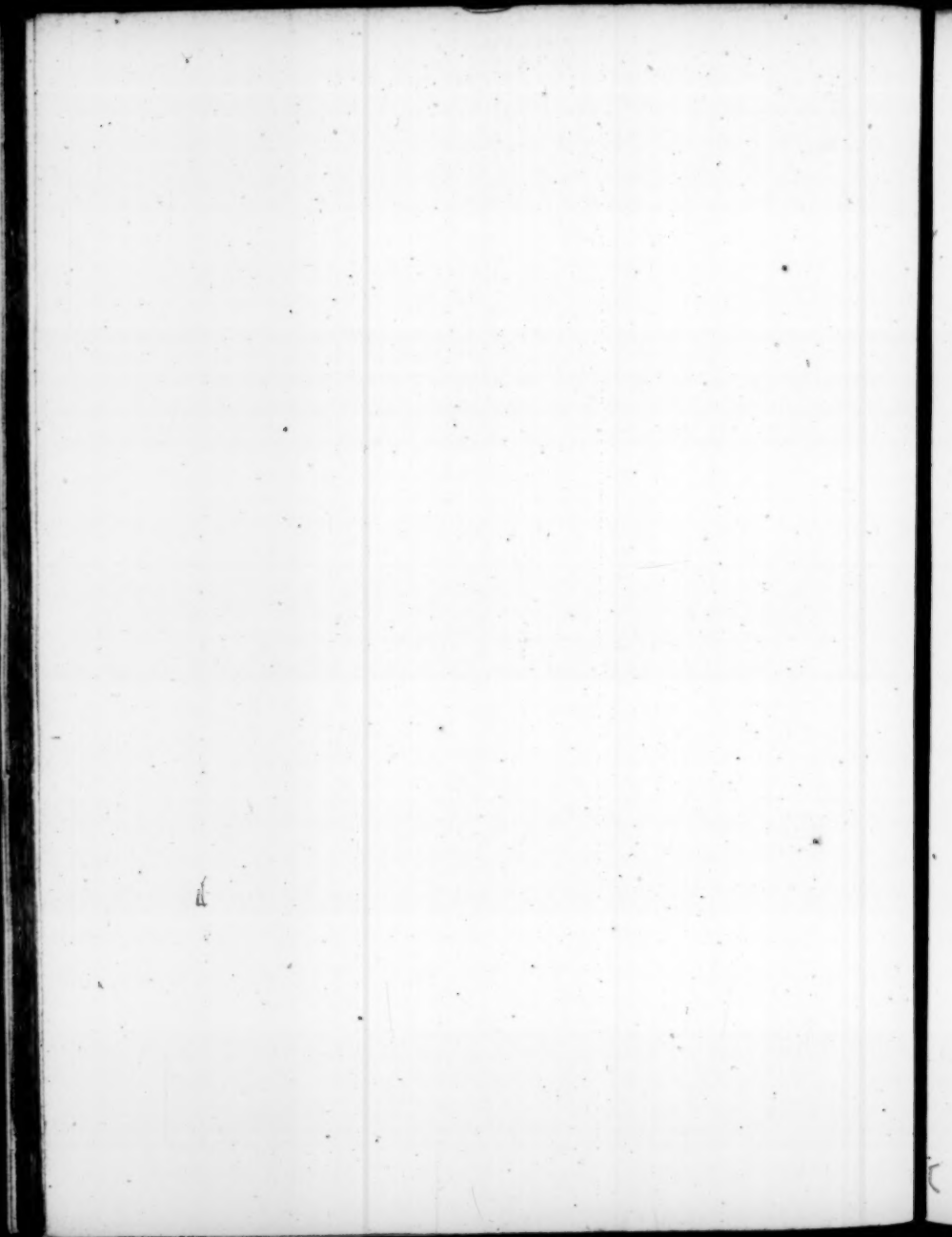
*Rec. Controv.
Angl. p. 115.*

may order their Lives to be taken away. What security then can there be found out from Persons, who give up their Consciences to the conduct of Men of such Principles; and profess an Implicite Obedience and belief of all that their Church teaches and commands, which possesses all its Votaries with such cursed rage against Hereticks, that not content to adjudg them to eternal Flames in another Life, they must needs Persecute and Burn without Mercy where they have the Power in their Hands; and Plot and Conspire, Kill and Massacre without relenting, where they have not Power to do it with any colour of Law?

Men of Honour will not be easily drawn in to such Practices. But in Conclusion, when a fit Opportunity appears, they must either forsake their Church, or concur in the most mischievous Designs, that the Masters of their Consciences will draw them into; which I pray God make them see in good time, before they are Involved in such Snares, that Repentance will come too late to do them good, or to preserve the Nation from those Miseries that they will bring upon it.

FINIS.





THE
Unreasonableness
AND
IMPIETY
OF
POPE RY:
IN A
SECOND LETTER

Written upon the Discovery of the Late

PLOT.

Imprimatur C. Alston, Nov. 12. 1678.

L O N D O N,



Printed for R. Chiswell, at the Rose and
Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1678.

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The Unreasonableness and Impiety
OF
P O P E R Y,

In a Second Letter written upon the Discovery
of the Late P L O T.

S I R,

YOU are pleased to tell me that my last Letter has had some good effect; and that many who were before carried away with the false colours of the *Romish* Religion, are now a little awakned, and seem not unwilling to examin things, which they took formerly upon trust: and therefore you desire me, since you are not Master of so much spare time your self, to set down the most material and convincing reasons, and in as few words as may be, that are most likely to open the eyes of honest and simple persons, that have been hitherto misled, and are now willing to be instructed.

In all such cases I first consider the temper of the persons to be dealt with: Such as take up their Religion out of interest or humour, and think it point of honour to continue in it, and so will examine nothing are not to be spoken to. Others that are naturally superstitious and credulous, are very hard to be wrought on; for they believe every thing that is said on the one hand, and distrust all that is told them by any body else. Some of those have a vanity in coming to talk with Divines, but it is an endless labour to deal with them; for at every
time



time one must begin of new. But the only persons to be dealt with, are those that are sincere and inquisitive, that having been bred in that Religion, or brought over to it by some specious pretences, are now willing to hear reason, and resolved to follow it wherever they find it. And therefore in the first place, their minds must be disengaged from these unjust prejudices, that they conceive of our Religion: and such just prejudices must be offered them against the *Romish* Religion, as may at least beget in them some jealousies concerning it, by which they may be brought so far, as to think the matter suspicious. If then there be such reasons offered them, for suspecting foul dealing from their Priests and Church, as would make them suspect an Attorney, Physician, or any other person with whom they were to deal, they will be prepared to hear reason; which is all that we desire: and upon this Head these following Considerations may be laid before them.

1. All people that pretend to great Power and Dominion over our consciences, are justly to be suspected: If any man designed to make himself Master of any of our other Liberties, we would examine his Title, and suspect all his other motions, when we see they tend to subject us to him: Therefore a Church that designs to keep all her Votaries under an absolute obedience, is justly to be suspected: and our Church that pretends to no such power, is more likely to deal fairly.

2. A Church that designs to keep her Members in ignorance, is more to be suspected, than a Church that brings every thing to a fair Trial. A Church that denies the use of the Scriptures in a known tongue, except to a few, and wraps up their Worship in a Language that is not understood, is reasonably to be suspected, more than a Church that gives the free use of the Scriptures to all

all persons, and worships God in a Language, which the people understand.

3. A Church whose Opinions tend to engross the Riches of the world to its Officers, is more to be suspected, than a Church that pretends to nothing but a competent maintenance of the several Officers in it. The Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, and the Enriching the Shrines, or Reliques of Saints, Pardons, Jubilees, and many more Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, are so calculated for enriching their Societies; that every cautious man must needs suspect some design in it: which he cannot charge on a Church that has none of these Arts to get money.

4. A Church that has carried on its Designs, by the most dishonest methods possible, the forging of Writings, and Deeds, of Miracles, Visions, Prophecies and other things of that Nature, is more justly to be suspected, than a Church that cannot be charged with any such practices. The Forging so many Epistles for the Popes of the first Ages, which are now by themselves confest to be Spurious, with many other Forgeries, were the Engines by which the Papal Power was chiefly advanced. The Legends and Extravagant Fables of which they are now ashamed, were the chief Motives of Devotion for many Ages. And by these, Saints and Images were so much magnified, and Monasteries so enriched. A Noted Liar after a Discovery is no more to be trusted.

5. Any that considers the present State of *Rome*, the manner of Electing Popes, the Practices of that Court, and the Maxims they move by, must see that every thing there is secular, corrupt, and at best directed by rules of Policy. But to fancy the Holy Ghost can come upon any Election so managed, as their own Books shew
that

that is, is the most unreasonable thing that can be devised. Therefore a Church that neither pretends so high, nor can be charged with such proceedings, is more likely to be the true Church.

6. A Church that teaches Cruelty against poor Innocent people, that differ in opinion; and sets on Plots, Conspiracies, and Rebellion against Princes, that are judged Hereticks, is more likely to be corrupted, than a Church that is so merciful, as to condemn all capital proceedings for difference of Opinion, and teaches an absolute Submission to the Sovereign Power, even when it persecutes and oppresses them.

7. A Church that is false to her own Principles, is not so likely to instruct her members aright, as a Church that is in all things consistent to her self. The great Foundation of their Doctrine, is, That there must be a speaking Judg to decide all Controversies: Now they have no such Judg, for it is not of Faith, that the Pope is this Judg, or is Infallible: And for a general Council, they have had none these 112. years, nor are they like to see another in haste. So they have no Speaking Infallible Judg among them. And thus they deceive people by a false Pretence: whereas we appeal to nothing, but what we really have among us, which are the Scriptures.

8. A Church that appeals to Marks, which are not possible to be searcht out, is more likely to mislead people, than a Church that pretends to nothing but what can be certainly proved. The great thing they appeal to is the Constant Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, and their other Pastors. This cannot be known, no not by a probable conjecture. But there are on the contrary, as great grounds for History to deny it in the See of *Rome*, as in any other Ancient See whatsoever: but
though

though they have it, both the *Greek Church*, and our Church has it likewise.

These are such plain things, and the Truth of them is so notoriously known, that I should ask any of that Communion, whether upon the like reasons he would not be Jealous of any person or sort of persons whatsoever? And if these grounds of jealousy would work in other matters, it is much more reasonable, that they should take place in matters of Religion; In which as an Error is of far greater Importance; So Impostors in all Ages have studied to make gain by Religion. Therefore it is most just upon these violent presumptions, to look about us, and take care we be not cheated.

But before I would descend to particulars, there is one General prejudice that works most universally, on weaker minds to be removed, which is, that the true Church cannot Erre. If then it be made appear unanswerably, that the true Church may Erre, and that in a most weighty Point, all these Arguments fall to the ground.

That the Church of the *Jews*, in our Saviours days was the true Church, cannot be denied; for our Saviour owned it to be such. He joyned with them in their worship, He sent the Lepers to the Priest, He commanded them to hear the Doctors that sate in *Moses Chair*, and himself acknowledged the High Priest. This is sufficient to prove that it was the true Church, and yet this Church erred, in a most Important point, whether Jesus Christ was the true Messias, in whom the Prophecies were fulfilled or not? they Judged falsely: The High Priests with all the *Sanhedrim*, declared him a Blasphemer, and condemned him guilty of Death. Here the true Church expounds the Scriptures falsely, and erred in the Foundation of Religion.

And

And it is well known, that the chief arguments which they of the Romish party bring to prove, that a Church cannot Err, do agree as well to the *Jewish*, as the Christian Church: the one being the true Church, under that dispensation, as well as the other is now. If then this Decision made by the true Church in Christs time, did not oblige all in that Church, to go on in that error, but private persons might have examined their Sentence, and depart from them upon it; then upon the same reasons, though we acknowledge the Church of *Rome* a true Church, yet we may examine her Doctrines, and separate from her errors. This grand prejudice being thus removed, there are two things in the next place to be laid before them.

One is, that the Scriptures, being acknowledged to come from Divine Inspiration, on all hands, can only decide the Controversies among us: and the places I shall make use of, shall be cited according to the *Doway* Translation, to which, being made by themselves, they cannot except.

Another is, that a man must judg of things as they appear plainly to his reasonable Faculties. It is against all reason to say that because it is possible for a man to be mistaken, therefore he ought to doubt his Judgment in things that are clear to him. This must turn a man Sceptical both to all Religions, and all the concerns of human life: Therefore every man must follow his Judgment, when after a diligent Inquiry, any thing appears plain to him.

And now to come up close to those of that perswasion, they are to consider, that the chief parts of Religion are, *First*, Articles of Faith: *Secondly*, Rules of Life: *Thirdly*, The worship of God chiefly in the Sacraments: And *Fourthly*, The Government of the Church. If then

then in every one of these Heads, the Church of *England* agrees clearly with the Scriptures, and the Church of *Rome* does either manifestly contradict them, or differs materially from them, in all these points, in which we and they differ; then the Resolution of the Question, Whether a man ought to joyn himself to our Church, or theirs? will be easily made.

For Articles of Faith, if either the Apostles Creed or the Creeds of the First 4. General Councils, contain a just abstract of the Faith; then we who receive every Article in these Creeds, do agree more exactly to the Apostolical Doctrine, than they who have added many new Articles to their Creed.

The chief Article of Faith, is, The Covenant made between God and Man through *Jesus Christ*, by which upon the Account of his Merits and Intercession, all who follow the Rules of the Gospel, may expect the Blessings of it, both here, and hereafter. *Penance to- ARS 20. 21.*
ward God, and Faith towards our Lord *Jesus Christ*, being the conditions upon which we hope for Eternal life. This we plainly teach, without Addition or Change: But in how many things have they departed from this Simplicity of the Gospel? *First*, In teaching People to address to God, for the Merits and by the Intercession of the Saints: From whom these things are asked, for which the Scriptures direct us only to God and Christ. And in the very words pronounced after absolution, *The Merits of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints*, are joyned with the passion of Christ; as the grounds on which we obtain pardon of Sin, Grace, and Eternal life. *Secondly*, In perswading People, That a Simple attrition with the use of the Sacraments, without any real conversion of the Soul or change of life, is sufficient to Salvation. *Thirdly*, In perswading People, That
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there is a Communication of the Merits of Saints to other Persons, though the Scriptures mention only the Communication of Christs Merits. *Fourthly*, by Teaching that tho our sins are pardoned thorough Christ; yet, there are terrible and long lasting torments to be endured in another State. *Fifthly*, that saying Masses, and going of Pilgrimages can Redeem from these. Now in all these, the two chief Designs of the Gospel are plainly contradicted: Which be; *First*, To Change our hearts and lives: *Secondly*, To perswade us to a humble Dependence upon Christ, and an high acknowledgment of him: But these Doctrines of theirs as they shew us a way to be sure of Heaven, without a real Conversion; so they take off so much from Faith in Christ as they carry us to trust to somewhat else.

These are Errors of great Importance: Since they corrupt the Fountain, and overthrow the chief design of the Christian Religion. They are also late devices brought in, in the dark and ignorant Ages.

No mention is made of praying to Saints, in any Ancient Liturgie. There is a great deal against it in the most Ancient Authors. And though in the Fourth Century, upon the Conversion of many Heathens to the Christian Faith, to humour them in their conceit, of some Intermedial Agents, between the Divinity and us Mortals, there was a Reverence for the Saints set up, to drive out the worship of those Secondary Deities; yet, this was no direct Adoration, though they then began to use Rhetorical addresses to Saints like prayers: Yet, even in *Gregory the Great* his time (in the beginning of the Seventh Century) we find no Prayers made to them in all his Liturgies. And for the Belief of a simple Attrition being sufficient with the Sacrament, no body ever dreamed of it, before the Schoolmen found

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out the Distinction, between *Attrition* and *Contrition* in the later Ages. For the Communication of the Merits of Saints, the whole Fathers in one voice, speak only of the Merits of Christ being Communicated to us. The Fryers first invented it, to invite People at least to die in their habits, by perswading them, that all the merits of the Saints of their Order, were shared among the whole Order. And for Redeeming out of Purgatory, the first Four Ages knew nothing of it. In the beginning of the Fifth Century *St. Austin* plainly speaks of it as an Opinion which some had taken up without any ground, and that it was no way certain, nor could we ever be sure of it. And though in *Gregory the Great's* time, the Belief of it was pretty far advanced; yet, the Trade of Redeeming out of it, by saying Masses for Departed Souls was not even then found out.

So that all these are both gross Errors, and late Inventions.

The next Branch of Religion, is the Rule of human life: which one would think could be taken from no other Standard so certainly, as the 10. Commandments: and the Expositions given of these in Scripture, chiefly our Saviours Sermon on the Mount. Let Malice it self appear, to Declare wherein our Church strikes at any of these: or Teaches men to disobey even the least of them. If then our Rule of life be exactly the same; with that which the Scriptures prescribe, we are safe as to this, which may be well called, The most important piece of Religion. For it is to be considered that God making man *after his own Image*, the end of his Creation was, that he might be made like God. The Attributes of God to be Imitated, are Goodness, Mercy, Justice, Wisdom and Truth. And it is certain that the Design of

Revealed Religion was to give men clearer Notions of these Moral perfections, to press them by stronger Arguments, and encourage our Endeavours by suitable Rewards and punishments. So that if any Religion contradicted these Moral Duties, we are sure it is false; for the Revelation of God's will must be designed to make us better than we would otherwise be, following barely the Light of Nature, and not worse. If then the Church of *Rome* overthrows Morality, and contradicts any of the Ten Commandments we are sure it is not of God. And how far it has done this, they may judge by these Particulars.

First, Whatever Church offers cheap and easie pardons for sin, does take off so much from our sense of the evil of sin. We cannot have a very ill opinion of any thing that is easily forgiven. Now what are the Popes Pardons, Indulgences, Jubilees, Priviledged Altars, the going of Pilgrimages, the saying of some Collects, the wearing of *Agnus Dei's*, Peebles, or other such like trash, but so many Engines to root out of mens minds any deep horror or great sense of sin. Is not this the very thing which the People of the *Jews* of old offered at, to bring Thousands of Rams, Ten Thousand Rivers of Oyl, their First born, or the fruit of their Body, to offer for their sins? All which were rejected in the name of God in these words, *I will shew thee O man what is good, and what our Lord requireth of thee: Verily to do Judgment, and to love mercy, and to walk solicitous with thy God.* This is a Moral matter and unchangable; therefore whoever go to beat down the sense of sin, by the offer of Pardon, on any other terms, but the sincere change of a mans life, destroy Morallity, which is the Image of God in man. If from this general Consideration we descend to Examine the Commandments in particular, we shall find

find matter enough for a severe Charge against their Church.

Is not the First Commandment broken when Devotions are offered to Saints which Import their being *Omniscient*, *Omnipresent* and *Almighty*; that are the Incommunicable Attributes of the God-head; and when pardon of sin, preservation, Grace against Temptations, and Eternal life, are immediately begged from Saints. It is true, they say the sense of these prayers, is only that we desire their assistance at Gods hands for these blessings. But the words of their Offices import no such matter. And though for above One Hundred and Sixty Years these things have been complained of; and in the Correction of their Offices, some of them were cast out; yet, many of them do still continue: In which the plain sense of the words of their Offices is Idolatrous: Only they make a shift with another and forced sense put on them, to defend themselves from that charge. And for such Devotions they can shew no Warrant for the first Thousand years after Christ.

The *Second* Commandment is so openly and confessedly broken by them, that many of them maintain, it does not all oblige Christians: but belonged only to the Jewish Dispensation. And in all their Catechisms it is left out, which was done very wisely; (with what honesty let them answer) for it was not fit the people should look on that as a Commandment, which they saw so notoriously broken throughout their whole Church: A great trade being also driven by the breach of it. That this was not in the Primitive Church, themselves confess: all the Books the Fathers wrote against the Idolatry of the Heathens, demonstrate this. Nor were Images so much as set up in Churches before the Sixth Century. And then care was taken that they should

should not be worshipped : and not before the Eighth Century were they worshipped in any place of the Christian Church.

The Doctrine of the Popes power of Relaxing of Oaths, and discharging men from the Obligation of them, joyned with the practice of their Popes for above 800 years, is as formal an Opposition to the *Third* Commandment as can be Imagined. This was also begun in the *Eighth* Century.

The vast multiplication of Holy-days, made the Observation of the Lords day of necessity slacken.

They have destroyed the Order of Societies, established in the *Fifth* Commandment ; by the Power they allow the Pope to Depose Princes, and absolve Subjects from their Allegiance.

They teach the murdering and burning all Hereticks, that is to say, all that will not submit to their Tyranny : by which Infinite numbers of Innocent persons have been murdered, against the *Sixth* Commandment. And these two Doctrines of deposing Princes, and putting Hereticks to death, were abhorred by the Church for the first *Eight* ages, and were brought in by the Popes since that time.

The frequent practice of the Court of *Rome*, in granting Divorces, on the pretence either of Spiritual kindred, or of Degrees not forbidden, either by the Law of Nature, or the word of God, and allowing second Marriages to both Parties, upon such Divorces, is an avowed breach of the *Seventh* Commandment.

The setting on, some Princes to Invade other Princes in their just Rights, is the Doctrine, as well as it has been the practice of their Church for some Ages. And as their Popes have wrested many Territories from Temporal Princes, so for many Ages they set on Publick

lick Robbery against the *Eighth* Commandment.

The Doctrine of Equivocating, both taught, and practised, the breaking of safe Conducts, and publick Faith decreed by their General Councils, is also against the *Ninth* Commandment.

For the *Tenth* I shall say nothing of it, because the meaning of it is not so generally agreed on. But thus we see all the Rules of Morality are contradicted by that Church.

It might be justly added to swell up this Charge; that of late there have been Doctrines published to the world by the approved Casuists of that Church, with Licence, which subvert all Justice, destroy all security, and take away the most sacred ties of mankind. By the Doctrines of Probability, and of Ordering the Intention aright, there is no crime how black soever, but a man may adventure on it with a good conscience. These things were long and openly taught amongst them, without any Censure. And when many of the *French* Clergy complained of these at the Court of *Rome* (perhaps more out of spite to the Jesuits, than zeal for the Truth) it was long before these so just Remonstrances, were heard. And in conclusion a trifling Censure was past on them: by which they were declared *Scandalous* (neither Impious, nor Wicked) and all were forbidden to teach them any more, but they stand yet, in the Books formerly published with Licence.

After all these particulars, is it to be wondered at, if the morals of the men of that Church be vitiated, when their Doctrine is so corrupted, for peoples practices are generally worse than their Opinions. And thus the *Second* point is made good, that in our Church, we teach the same Rules of Living that are in the Scriptures, which are grossly corrupted by their Doctrines.

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1 Cor. 14.

The *Third* Branch of the Christian Religion is the Worship of God and that chiefly the use of the Sacraments. For the Worship of God, let it be considered that we pray to God, and praise him only, for all these things about which the Scriptures command us to address to him. Our worship is in a Language that all the people understand, and so are edified by it according to St. *Paul*, who has enlarged so much on this matter, in a whole Chapter, that it is strange, how any who acknowledged the Authority of that Epistle, can deny it. Our Liturgies are such, that the Romanists cannot except to any part of them: Our ceremonies are few, and these be both decent and useful: So that in all the parts of our Worship, we do so exactly agree to the Rule of the Scriptures, and the Primitive Church, that they cannot blame us for any one Rubrick or Collect in it. But for their worship, It is in a Language not understood by the people: who to be sure can receive no Edification, from that they understand not; nor can they say *Amen* to such Devotions. This is as it were in spite to St. *Paul*, who took special care that as long as his Authority was in any esteem in the Church, such an abuse should never creep into it. Nor is there a shadow of Authority for such a practice, from the Primitive Church, in which for many Ages, the Worship was still in the vulgar Tongues.

Next their Worship is so overcharged with many Rites and Ceremonies, that the seriousness of Devotion must needs be much alloyed by them. A great part of the Worship is so whispered, as if they were muttering Spells. Their Books of Exorcisms are the most indecent things that can be: full of Charms and other ridiculous Rites. And for the *Pontifical* and *Ceremonial* of their Church, they may match with Heathenism for Superstition.

tion. Their Offices are so various, and numerous, and the Rubricks seem so full of disorder, that a man may as soon learn a Trade, as know all the several parts of them. How this can be reconciled to the Sim plicity of the Gospel, or the Worshipping God in spirit and truth, may be easily judged by those who can compare things.

For the Sacraments, we have the Two that Christ Instituted, Baptism, and the Lords Supper; And for Penance, Confirmation, Ordination and Marriage, we have them also among us, as they were appointed by Christ and his Apostles: though we do not call these Sacraments. For Extream Unction we find no warrant at all for it, as a sacred Ordinance: and we are sure the Church for many Ages did not think of it. For Baptism it is done Mat. 28. 19. among us, in the very Form our Saviour appointed: and this they do not deny. But among them they cannot be assured that they are at all Baptized: since according to the Doctrine of the necessity of the Intention of the Priest, to the Being of a Sacrament, they cannot be assured of it: for an Atheistical Priest can spoil their Baptism, so that unless they can be certain of that, which is impossible for them to know, I mean the Intention of the Priest, they are not sure that they were ever truly Baptized.

But for the Lords Supper, if any person will so far trust his own Reason and senses, as to compare all the Warrants we have in Scripture for that Ordinance, with the Practice of our Church and theirs, they will soon see who agree most to them. *Christ took Bread which* Mat. 26. 26, *he blessed and gave, saying, This is my Body which is* 27. 28. ver. *given for you. He also took the Chalice and said, Drink ye all of it, &c.* All this we doe, and no more, so that it is indeed a *Communion* among us: and those who have read the account that *Justin Martyr* gives us of the Rites in the Communion in his days, would think he were

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reading the very Abstract of our Office. But in the Church of *Rome*, besides the less material things, of the Form of the Bread, the Consecration of Altars and Vessels, with the numberless little devices in the Canon of the Mass, that they seem not of such importance let these considerable changes they have made be looked into.

1. They have brought in the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, against the clearest Evidence both of sense and reason, against the nature of a Sacrament, and its being a Memorial of Christs Death, and that by the very words of Consecration, the Bread and Wine are Christs *Body and Blood*, as the one was *given for us*, and the other *shed for us*, on the Cross: and not as he is now at the Right hand of God. The belief of this crept in by degrees, from the eighth Century, in which it was first set on foot, but much contradicted both in the *Eastern* and *Western* Church: and was not fully settled till the 13th Century. We are sure it was not the Doctrine of the Churches of *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Asia*, *Antioch*, nor *Africk* in the 5th and 6th Centuries, by express Testimonies from the most esteemed Authors of that time, *Gelasius*, *Chrysostom*, *Ephrem*, *Theodoret*, and *St. Austin*.

2. They deny the Chalice to the Laity against the express words of the Institution; and contrary both to the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church for 1300 years.

3. They have declared the Priests saying Mass, to be an Expiatory Sacrifice for the Dead, and the Living, though the Scripture plainly says, *That Christ was once offered for us*. It is true the Primitive Church used the words *Sacrifice* and *Oblation* as our Church yet does, but their meaning by that, was only in the general sense of these terms, as Prayers, Praises, and Alms are called Sacrifices.

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4. They have brought in a new piece of Worship, which is the hearing of Mass, without receiving the Sacrament: and it is now the great Devotion of their Church. Though by the Institution, it is as express as can be, that the Consecration is only in order to its being a Communion. And by the Apostolical Canons, which some in their Church believe to be the work of the Apostles, and are by them all acknowledged to be a Collection of the Rites of the first Ages, all persons that were present at the Worship, and did not communicate were to be severely censured.

5. The adoring the Sacrament, the exposing it on the Altar, and carrying it about in solemn Processions, to be worshipped, as they are late Inventions; so if Transubstantiation be not true, they are by their own confession the grossest Idolatries that ever were,

And are not these considerable variations from the first Institution of this Sacrament?

As for their own Sacraments, though there is no reason to equal them, to either of these that were instituted by Christ; yet some of them we use, as they were at first appointed. Persons Baptized, are Confirmed with Imposition of hands, the only Ceremony used by the Apostles.

Acts 8. 17.

We allow the use of Confession, and do press it in many cases; and give the benefit of Absolution: but we do not make this an Engin to screw peoples secrets from them. For which there is no warrant in Scripture; nor was it thought necessary for many Ages after the Apostles. Confession of publick Scandals was enjoined, and for private sins it was recommended: but this latter was not judged simply necessary for obtaining the pardon of sin. And what noise soever they make of the good that Confession, and the enjoying of Penance, may do,

if well managed, we need only appeal to some of their own best Writers, now in *France*, whether as they have been practised, they have not rather driven all true Piety out of the world. If these abuses had been only the faults of some Priests, the blame could not have been justly cast on their Church; but when the publick Rules given to Confessors, printed with Licence, are their warrants for so doing, then their Church is in fault. So that nothing is more common among them, than for persons after a confession made of their sins, with a slight sorrow, and some trifling penance undergone, together with the Priestly Absolution, to fancy themselves as clean from all sin, as if they had never offended God. And this being the Doctrine of their Church, it both lessens the sense of sin, and takes men off from making such earnest applications to God through Christ, as the Gospel commands.

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For Orders they are among us with the same Rites that Christ and the Apostles gave them first: And a learned Man of their own Church has lately published the most ancient Forms of Ordinations he could find: From which it appears, that all the Ceremonies in their Ordinations, for the want of which they accuse us, were brought in since the eighth Century: so that even by their own Principles these things cannot be necessary to Ordination, otherwise there were no true Orders in the Church for the first eight Ages.

Heb. 13. 4.

For Marriage we honour it as Gods Ordinance; and since the Scriptures declare it *honourable in all*, without exception, we dare deny it to none who desire it. St. Paul delivers the Duty of Clergy-men towards their Wives, with Rules for their Wives behaviour, which had been very impertinent if Clergy-men might have no Wives. We find a married Clergy in the first ten Centuries:

1 Tim. 3. 2.

4. 31.

curies : And we know by what base Arts the Calibate of the Clergy was brought in ; and what horrid ill effects it has produced. Neither do we allow of any devices to hinder Marriage, by degrees of kindred nor prohibited in the Law of God, or the trade that was long driven in granting Dispensations in those degrees, and afterwards annulling these, and avoiding the Marriages that followed upon them, upon some pretences of Law.

Thus it appears, how they have corrupted the Doctrine of the Sacraments, together with the Worship of God.

The last head of Religion is *Government* ; and as to this, we can challenge any to see what they can except to us. First in reference to the Civil Power, we declare all are bound for conscience sake to obey every lawful Command of the Supream Authority, and to submit when they cannot obey. We pretend to no Exemption of Clarks from the Civil Jurisdiction, but *give to Caesar the things that are Caesars*. We do not obey the King only because he is of our Religion : much less do we allow of Conspiracies or Rebellions upon our judging him an Heretick, so that we deliver no Doctrin that can be of any ill consequence to the Society we live in.

And for the Ecclesiastical Government we have Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, rightly Ordained, and in their due subordination to one another ; every one administering these Offices due to his Function, which has been the Government of the Christian Church, since the times of the Apostles. So that we have a clear vocation of Pastors among us, from whose hands every person may without scruple receive all the Sacraments of the Church.

But for the Church of *Rome*, how unsafe is the Civil Government among them ? not to mention the Doctrin of

of deposing Princes, for which I refer you to my former Letter; What a security does the Exemption of Clerks from the Civil Courts in cases criminal, give to loose and debauched Church-men; and what disturbance must this breed to a Common wealth? The denying the Civil Magistrate power to make Laws that concern Religion, or oblige Churchmen, takes away a great deal of his Rights; for scarce any Law can be made but wrangling and ill-natur'd Churchmen, may draw it within some head of Religion. And that this was frequently done in former Ages, all that have read History know. The quarrels that were in the beginning of this Century between the Pope and the Republick of *Venice* were a fresh Evidence of it.

But for the Ecclesiastical Government, they have spoiled it in all the parts of it. The Pope has assumed a power of so vast an extent, and so arbitrary a nature, that all the ancient Canons are thrown out of doors by it. We know that originally the Bishops of *Rome* were looked on by the rest of the Church, as their Colleagues and fellow Bishops. The Dignity of the City made the See more remarkable; and the belief of *St. Peters* having founded it, with his suffering Martyrdom there, with *St. Paul*, made it much honoured: so that when the Empire became Christian, then the Dignity of the Imperial City made the Bishop of *Rome* be acknowledged the first Patriarch. From this beginning they arose by many degrees to the height of pretending to a Supremacy both Civil and Spiritual; and then they not only received appeals, which was all they at first pretended to, but set up Legantine Courts every where, made the Bishops swear Obedience and Homage to them, and the Arch-Bishops receive the Pall from their hands, in sign of their dependance on them: Exempted Monasteries,
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and other Clerks from Episcopal Jurisdiction, broke all the Laws of the Church by their Dispensations: So that no shadow of the primitive Government does now remain. And though Gregory the Great wrote with as much indignation against the Title of *Universal Bishop*, as ever any Protestant did; yet his Successors, have since assumed both the Name and thing. And to that height of Insolence, has this risen, that in the Council of *Trent*, all the Papal Party opposed the Decree that was put in, for declaring Bishops to have their Jurisdictions by Divine Right. The Court Party not being ashamed to affirm, that all Jurisdiction was by Divine Right only in the Pope; and in the other Bishops, as the Delegates of the Apostolick See; and they were in this too hard for the other Party. So that now a Bishop, who by the Divine appointment ought to *feed the Flock*, can do no more in that, than as the Pope gives him leave. The greatest part of the Priests have no dependence on their Bishops. The *Monks, Fryars, and Jesuits*, being immediately subordinate to the Pope; so that they do what they please, knowing they can justify any thing at *Rome*, and they fear no Censure any where else.

From this so many abuses have crept in, and the Canonists have found out, so many devices to make them Legal, that there is no hope of Reforming these at *Rome*. The whole State of Cardinals is one great Corruption, who, from being Originally the Parish Priests of *Rome*, and so under all Bishops, have raised themselves so high that they do now trample on the whole Order; and pretend to an Equality with Princes. The giving Benefices to Children, the unlimited Plurality of Benefices in one Person; the Comendam's, the reserved Pensions, with many other such like, are gross, as well as late Corruptions. And no wonder if all men despair of Reform-
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ing the Court of *Rome*, when these abuses are become necessary to it, by which the greatness of the Cardinals and the other Officers, or Ministers there, is kept up.

I need not mention the gross *Simony* of that Court, where all the world knows, every thing may be had for money. The Popes themselves, are often Chosen by these Arts: and if their own Rules be true, such Elections, with every thing that follows on them are void. The Infinite Swarms of the Inferiour Clergy, do plainly drive a *Simonical* Trade, by the Masses they say for Departed Souls, for Money. And for Publick Pennance, they have Universally let it fall, instead whereof private Pennance is now in use. And if their own Writers say true, this is made an Engine to serve other ends, when by enjoyning slight and easie Pennances, they draw the People after them; upon which the Jesuites have been loudly accused, these Forty Years last past. In Sum, all the Corruptions or rather defects, that are in the Government of our Church, are only such as they brought in and have not met yet with such effectual remedies, as must cure the Church of these inveterate Distempers, their ill Conduct did cast her into.

If any of that Party will review these Particulars, and so far trust their own Reasons, as to judge according to the plainest Evidence, they cannot resist the conviction that they must needs meet with: when they see the simplicity of our Faith, the Morality of our Doctrine, the Purity of our Worship, and our Primitive Government; and compare it with their vast Superferation of Articles of Faith, the Immorality of their Rules of living, the Superstition, if not Idolatry of their Worship, and the most extravagant Innovations in Government, that are in the Church of *Rome*.

And indeed these things are so clear that few could resist

resist the force of so much plain truth, if it were not for some prejudices, with which they are so fettered that they cannot examine matters with that freedom of mind, that is necessary. Therefore much care must be taken, to clear these, in the most familiar and demonstrative manner that is possible.

They may be reduced to these Five chief Ones. *First*, That the true Church cannot Err. *Secondly*, That out of the true Church there is no salvation. *Thirdly*, That the case of the Church of *Rome* is much safer than ours is; since the Church of *England* acknowledges a possibility of salvation in the Church of *Rome*; which they on the other hand deny to the Church of *England*. *Fourthly*, That unless there be a Supreme Judge set up, we can be sure of nothing in Religion, but must fall into many Factions and Parties. And *Fifthly*, That the Reformation was but a Novelty begun in the former Age, and carried on in this Nation, out of an ill design; and managed with much Sacrilege.

The First of these seemed necessary to be cleared in the beginning of this Discourse, and I am deceived if it was not done convincingly. And for the Second we agree to it, That out of the true Church there is no Salvation.

But then the Question comes, What makes one a Member of the true Church? The Scriptures call the Church the *Body of Christ*, of which he is the *Head*. Eph. 1. 22, 23. So then whoever are joined to Christ according to the Gospel, must be within the true Church. But the deceit that lies hid under this, is, That from hence they fancy that the Unity of the Church, does consist in an outward Communion with the See of *Rome*. And upon that they calculate, that there must be an Unity in the Body of the Church: And that cannot be, except all be joined to the See of *Rome*. Now, we grant there is

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but one Church, but this Unity consists not in an Outward Communion, though that is much to be desired, but consists in an Unity of Belief, about the essentials of Christianity.

There is nothing more evident, than, that even according to their own Principles, other Churches are not bound upon the hazard of Damnation to hold Communion with the See of *Rome*; for it is not an Article of Faith, nor certain according to their own Doctrine, That the Pope is Infallible: And except that were certain, we cannot be obliged to hold Communion under such a Sanction with that See. For if it be possible that a Pope may become an Heretick or Schismatick (which many of them confess, and all agree that the contrary is not of Faith,) then other Churches are not in that case obliged to hold Communion with that See. If therefore the possibility of Error in that See be acknowledged, then holding Communion with it, cannot be the measure of the Unity of the Church. So we bring it to this Issue, It is not Heresie to say, The Pope may Err: Therefore this is no just prejudice against our Church, because we have departed from Communion with him, when he imposed his Errors on us. So all the high things they boast of that See, come to nothing, except they say, This Proposition is of Faith, *That the Pope is Infallible*: And for these Meetings that they call General Councils; they were at best but the Councils of the *Western* Patriarchate artificially packt, and managed with much Art; as appears even from Cardinal *Pallavicini's* History of the Council of *Trent*.

For the Third Prejudice, It is the most disingenuous thing that can be; Because our Church is charitable, and modest in her Censures, and theirs is uncharitable, and cruel in her Judgments; therefore to conclude, That Communion

munion with them is safer, than with us. If confidence, and Presumption, Noise, and Arrogance, are the marks to judge a Church by, we must yield to them in these : but if Truth, and Peace, Charity and holy Doctrines, be the better Standards, then we are as sure, that our Communion is much safer. Let this Rule be applied to the other concerns of human life, and it will appear how ridiculous an abuse it is to take measures from so false a Standard. If a man were sick, the Question comes, Whether he shall use an approved Physician, or a Montebanks. On the one hand, the Montebank says, He will certainly cure him, and the Doctors will undoubtedly kill him. On the other hand, the Doctor modestly says, he will undertake nothing, but will do the best he can ; and for the Montebank he tells him, It is very dangerous to trust to him, though he will not deny but sometimes great cures are done by them. The Insolence of the Montebank will never carry it against a Doctors modesty, but among weak and credulous People ; and such must they also be, who are taken with this Montebankry in Religion.

But if this be taken to pieces, the folly of it will yet appear more manifest. For *First*, the reason we give for a possibility of Salvation in the Church of *Rome*. is, because we look on such and such things as the Essentials of Christianity, which are yet retained in that Church : And either this Reasoning is true or false. If it be true, then it is as true, that we may be saved, who retain these Essentials of Christianity : If it is false, then no Inference can be drawn from it. *Secondly*, Though we yield a possibility of Salvation in that Church, we declare that they are in great danger, by many opinions among them, which if fully understood and believed, do even vitiate the Essentials of Christianity ; parti-

cularly that Foundation of Religion, The Covenant between God and Man thorough Christ, formerly insisted on. So that we declaring a Certainty of Salvation to those who sincerely follow the rules of our Church, and a great danger in their Church, the preferring their Communion to ours, upon this account, is, as unreasonable, as to sleep without shutting our Doors, because it is possible we shall not be robbed, in so doing : Or when we are at Sea to prefer a Cock-boat to a good clean Ship. These are such absurdities, that an ordinary measure of weakness cannot swallow them down. *Thirdly*, We are not so forward as they imagine in yielding a possibility of Salvation in their Church. For our concession amounts rather to this, that we do not deny it, than that we positively affirm it : And therefore they have no reason to draw these advantages from it.

4. A great difference is to be made between what God in the Infiniteness of his mercy may do, and what he is bound to by the Covenant made with man in the Gospel ; for the former we acknowledg, it is impossible to fix the limits of that mercy which is as far above our thoughts, as the Heavens are above the Earth. And how far it extends to all sincere minds, we are not so presumptuous as to define ; therefore we will not Damn at pleasure, as they do. but we do assert, Their Church is guilty of such gross Corruptions, by which the vitals of Religion are vitiated, that they have not that reason to claim the Mercies of the Gospel due by that Covenant.

5. The Church of *Rome* has a dark and fair side ; the dark side is, what the true consequence of their Opinions is, the fair side is, what some witty men have devised to palliate these corruptions with, and to deceive the Vulgar by. We know many of that Communion, either

ther do not at all know these corrupt Doctrines, or have such a fair representation made of them, that they are thereby both more easily and more innocently misled. From hence it is that we are inclined to hope more charitably concerning some, that are abused by them. But for those that have examined things more fully, or that having been bred among us, yet reject the Truth, and go over to them, we are not so much enclined to have so good hopes of them, as they imagine : So this is a weak and ill grounded conceit in all the parts of it.

The Fourth Prejudice, is concerning the necessity of Submitting to some Common Judg, of distrusting our own reasons, and believing the Church, without which there must be many Sects and Divisions : and this they aggravate from the many different Parties that are among us.

But these are only specious pretences to deceive weak people by. For First, If it is necessary that there be a Common Judg, it is most necessary that it be known, who this Judg is, otherwise it is to no purpose to talk of a Judge, if they cannot point him out. This is like him that came to discover a huge Treasure that he knew was hid under ground ; but being asked in what place it was ? he answered he did not know that : and he believed no body else knew. Some say the *Pope* is the Judge, others as confidently, that the Council is Judge even without the Pope, others think it is sure work to say, the Pope and Council together : and others say, the Body of the Church spread over the World.

For the Popes, some of them have been condemned for Heresie, and others for making Schism ; many of them have been most horrid men : they are generally ignorant in Divinity, being for most part bred to the
Law

Law : so that a great part of their own Church rejects the Popes Infallibility.

For Councils, they have had none these 115 years, and the last was so over-ruled by the Popes, that no other has been desired since : so that if either a Council without the Pope, or with him, be the Infallible Judge they have lost their infallibility ; and except a Council were constantly sitting, they can shew no living and speaking Judg. So that either this is not necessary to a Church, or otherwise they are not a compleat Church. And for the Body of the Church, how shall a man find out their sense, unless gathered together in some Assembly ? or must a Man go over Christendome, and gather the Suffrages of all the Pastors of the Church ? Upon the whole matter it is plain that after all their Canting about the Church, they must say, that it is of Faith that the Pope is Infallible, otherwise they have no Infallible Judg, and since a Council cannot be called but by the Pope, what ever Authority the Council has it can never be exercised, but by the Popes leave.

And for all the sad consequences they say, follow the want of a Common infallible Judg, it appears they are under them as well as we ; but with this difference, that we plainly acknowledg, we have none, but do the best we can without one : But they, as they have none, no more than we, yet are under the Tyranny of one, and though they are not bound to believe him Infallible, yet are as much enslaved to him, and obliged to obey him, as if he were really exempted from all possibility of Erring. So that in short, they are slaves and we are freemen. . And for these ill consequences, they are, we confess, unavoidable ; for which we have very good Authority, from his words, who on all sides is acknowledged to be Infallible

fallible, that said, *Wo be to the World for scandals, for* Matt. 18. 7.
it is necessary that scandals do come.

But to discuss this Objection, which works much on ignorant people, let it be considered that sin and Error are the two things, that do chiefly cross the design of the Gospel: and of these two, sin, is the more dangerous and destructive: since there is great reason to hope that Error cannot be so fatal, when it infects a mind that is otherwise sincere, as Sin, which clearly defaces the Image of God in the Soul. We ought not therefore to expect that the Gospel, should give any further security against Error, than it gives against Sin: On the contrary we should rather expect a further security from Sin, because it is most hurtful. But all the Provision made against Sin, is this, that in the Scriptures we are warned of the evil of it, and are directed to such methods, and have the promises of such Assistance, that if we use our endeavour, we shall not be overcome by sin, nor perish in it: So as to Error, we have the same security. The Gospel affords us a very clear light for directing our Belief in the most important things, which if we study with due humility, and sincerity, imploring God for the grace of his holy Spirit, for our instruction, we shall be preserved from Error. And thus the same provision is made against Error, that is against Sin. And we have no reason to expect more. And as it were not fit, that Salvation should be offered without obliging men to use their utmost endeavours, so it were not fit to give such an easie Remedy against Error, as that a man should not need to employ his reason to discover Truth, and avoid Mistakes. *If our Gospel be also bid, it is bid in them that* 2 Cor. 3. 3.
perish. Therefore that our Searches after Truth, may be both encouraged and rewarded, God sets it before us
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in such a Light, that it is our own fault if we do not see and follow it. But if men will either blindly give themselves up, to the conduct of such Guides, whose interest it is to mislead them, which is the case of the Church of Rome; or out of humour, or other base ends, will invent or follow some erroneous Tenets, as other Hereticks do, they have themselves to blame; and shall bear their own Iniquity: but they have no reason to cast the fault upon God, or accuse the Scriptures, of Darkness, or Defectiveness, in these things that are necessary to Salvation.

I come now to the last Prejudice, which will require a fuller Discussion, because it relates to matter of Fact: which as it is better understood, so it makes deeper Impressions on people, that are not so much wrought on by speculative points, as by these things that fall under their senses.

They first except to the Novelty of our Reformation, and always insult with this Question, *Where was your Religion before Luther?* To this, these things are to be opposed. *First*, we turn back the Question, and ask them where was their Religion the first six hundred years after Christ? Where was the Worship of Images, the Doctrine of the Corporal Presence, of Redeeming out of Purgatory, of Deposing Princes, and of the Worshipping Saints, before the Eighth Century? If the Reformation be now to be condemned, because of its Novelty, these things were then to be as much condemned, because they were then Novelties.

Secondly. If the Reformation had brought in any new Doctrine, its Novelty were indeed a just Prejudice against it: but it was only the throwing out of these Corruptions which had been brought in, in some dark and Ignorant Ages.

Thirdly,

Thirdly. The Doctrine of the Reformed Church, is no other than what Christ and his Apostles taught; and what the Church believed for many Ages after them. And as to the Positive part of it, it has been still held by the Church of *Rome*, and is yet acknowledged by them: but with so many Additions, that there was a Necessity of Reforming these: And this is often to be inculcated in them, that there is no Article of Faith, nor any other material point of Religion, among us that is condemned by the Church of *Rome*. They only blame us because we do not in many other points believe as they do: and this we ought not to do, unless we could see an equal Authority binding us to all alike.

Another Exception is, that in the Reformation we made a Schism, and broke the Unity of the Church, whereas if there had been any things amiss in the Church, they say the Reformers should have endeavoured to remove them, without tearing the Body of Christ in pieces.

But in answer to this; we acknowledg if the things complained of, could have been continued without sin, they ought not to have departed from the Communion of other Churches: but when the publick Liturgies and the Worship was found to be full of such Corruptions, that without Idolatry and Superstition, they could be no longer kept up, then it was not time to stay for the leisure of their Neighbouring Churches.

Yet if there had been any probable hopes, that the See of *Rome*, would have concurred in such a Reformation, it had been worth staying for, as long, as was possible. But when it was on the contrary, apparent, that all the most just Remonstrances made to that Court, were answered at best with delays and Excuses, if not with Excommunications and other censures; they had

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no reason to expect any concurrence from thence. So the case being thus put, that they discovered such Corruptions in the Worship of God, with which they could not comply any longer; either they were obliged to Worship God against their Consciences, or to lay aside all publick Worship, or else to cast out these Corruptions by a Reformation. Let any man of good reason judge, whether the last of these was not to be chosen?

There was no Obligation lying on this Church to wait for the pleasure of the Court of *Rome*, or our neighbouring Churches in this matter. We are a free and Independent Church: we owe a charitable and neighbourly Correspondence to forreign Churches; but we are subject to none of them. And according to the expresse Decision of one of the first General Councils, in the like case, we were no way subordinate to the See of *Rome*, even as it was the Patriarchate of the West. Themselves do confess that it is no Heresie to say, That See is fallible: and therefore we were not obliged to dance attendance at that Court, when we discovered the Corruptions, with which it had deceived the World; but might in our National or Provincial Synods at home, examine and Reform whatever errors were among us. And the multitude of those who held these errors, could be no just ground for delaying any advances towards a Reformation; no more than in the ancient Church, the Orthodox Bishops when chosen into a See corrupted with *Arrianism*, were obliged because that Contagion was generally spread, to make no attempts toward Reformation.

They Except further, That the Reformation was begun here by a vicious Prince, King *Henry* the Eighth, who

who partly out of revenge, because the Pope would not grant his desire about the Divorce of his Queen, and partly to enrich himself and his Courtiers with the sale of Abbey-lands did suffer these Doctrins first to take head here: and therefore they can have no good opinion of any thing that came from so wicked a man, and upon such ill motives.

If this be a good Argument against the Reformation, it was as good against Christianity upon *Constantine's* turning Christian; for the Heathen Writers represent him with as black a character as they can do King *Henry*. But we must not think ill of every thing that is done by a bad man, and upon an ill Principle: Otherwise if we had lived in *Jehu's* days, the same Plea would have been as strong, for keeping up the Idolatry of *Baal*: since *Jehu* had in a very unsincere manner destroyed it: and yet God rewarded him for what he had done.

But whatever might have been King *Henry's* secret motives, his proceedings were regular and justifiable. He found himself married to her that had been his own Brothers Wife, contrary to the express words of the Law of God. The Popes Legat, and his own Confessor and all the Bishops of *England* (except one) thought his scruples were well grounded. Upon which according to the superstition of that time, he made his applications to the Court of *Rome* for a Divorce: which were at first well received, and a Bull was granted. Afterwards some defects being found in that, a more ample one was desired, which was also granted: and Legats were appointed to try the matter. But the Pope soon after turned over to the Emperors Party, whose Aunt the Queen was: and was thereupon prevailed with, to recal the Legats Commission, destroy the Bull, and cite the King

to appear at *Rome*, where all things and persons were at the Emperors devotion. Upon all this, the King did expostulate with the Pope, that either his business was just, or unjust: if it was just why did he recall what he had granted, and put him off with such delays. If it was not just, why did he at first grant the Bull for the Divorce. This was unanswerable, but the Pope did still feed him with false hopes, yet would do nothing. Upon which he consulted the chief Universities, and the most learned men in Christendom, about his Marriage. Twelve famous Universities, and above an hundred learned Doctors, did declare under their hands and Seals (some writing larger Treatises about it) that his Marriage was against the Law of God. And that in that case the Popes Dispensation, which had allowed the Marriage, was void of it self. So after the King had been kept in suspense from *December 1527* till *February 1534*. above six years, he set his Divines to examin what authority the Pope had in *England*, either by the Law of God, or the practice of the Primitive Church, or the Law of the Land, and after a long and accurate search, they found He had no authority at all in *England*, neither by the Laws of God, of the Church, nor of the Land: so this Decision was not made rashly, nor of a sudden.

The Popes Authority being thus cast off, it was Natural in the next place to Consider, what Doctrines were then held in *England*, upon no other grounds than Papal Decrees. For it was absurd to reject the Popes power; and yet to retain these Opinions, which had no better Foundation than his Authority. Upon this many of the things, which had been for some Ages received in the Church of *Rome*, fell under debate: And, a great
many

many particulars were reformed. Yet, that King was so leavened with the Old Superstition, that the progress of the Reformation, was but slow during his Reign. But it was carried on to a further perfection, under King *Edward*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. In all their Methods of proceeding, there is nothing that can be reasonably censured: if it be confessed that the Pope is not Infallible, and the whole Church of *Rome*, acknowledges that it is no Heresie to deny his Infallibility.

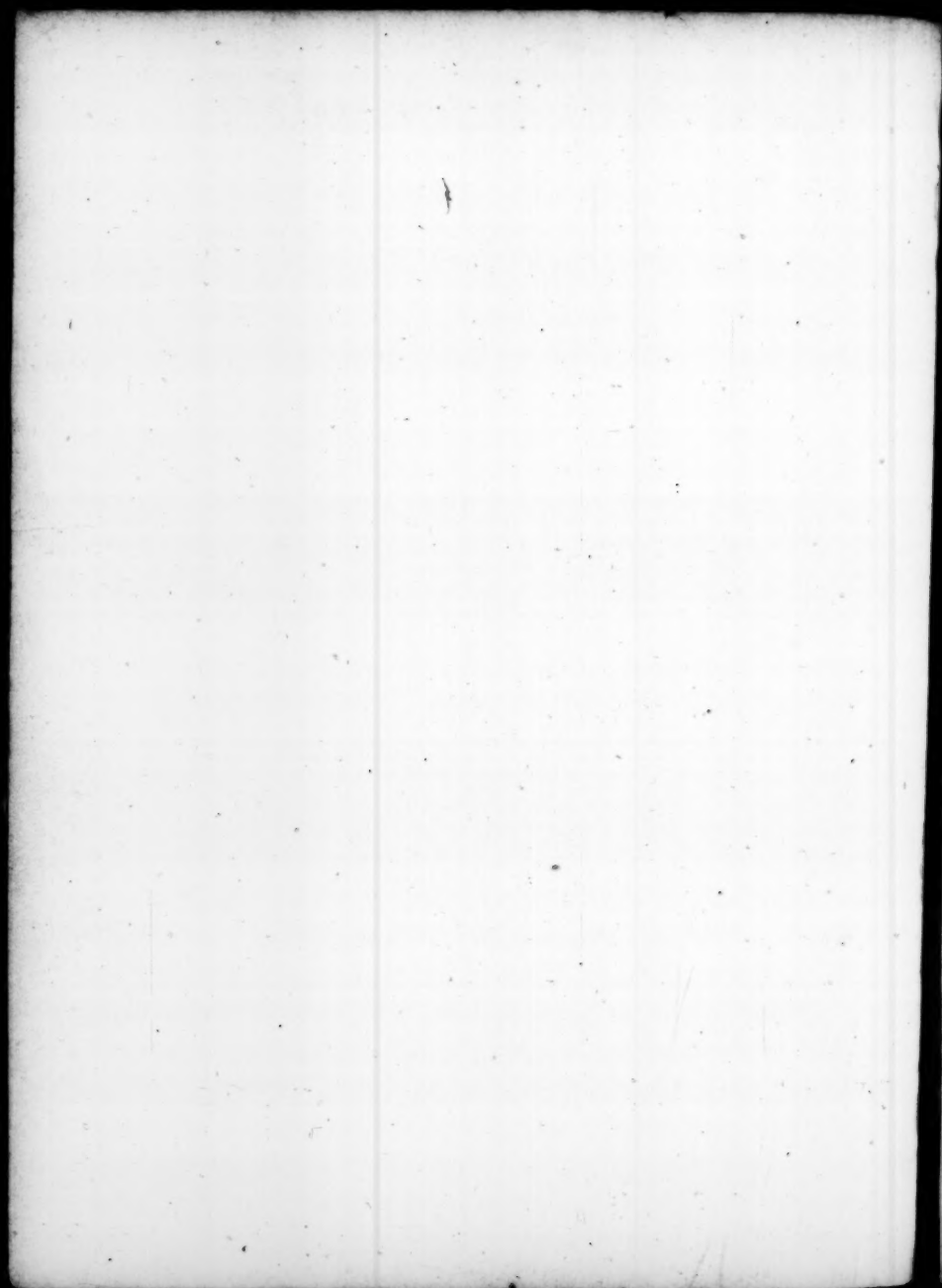
And for the Sale of the Abby-lands, they only spoiled the spoilers. For the *Monks*, and *Fryers*, had put these publick cheats on the Nation, of Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, going on Pilgrimages, with the worship of Saints, and Images, which were infused in the vulgar, by many lying Stories, pretended Apparitions, the false shew of Miracles, with other such like Arts. And the credulous and superstitious Multitudes were thereby wrought on, to endow these Houses with their best Lands, and adorn their Churches with their Plate and richest Furniture. It was not to be expected that when their Impositions were discovered, they should enjoy the spoil they had made by them: nor was it for the publick interest of the Nation, to give such encouragement to idleness, as the converting all these Houses to Foundations for an unactive life would have been. Many of them were applied to good Uses, Bishopricks, Cathedral and Collegiat Churches, Hospitals, and free Schools: And more of them ought indeed to have been converted to these ends. But the excesses of King *Henry*, and his Courtiers must not be charged on the Reformers; who did all they could to hinder them.

And

And thus all these prejudices with which the Vulgar are misled, appear to be very unjust, and ill grounded. In conclusion, If by these or such like considerations, any that are now of that Communion, can be brought to mind Religion in earnest, considering it, as a Design to save their Souls, by making them truly pure and holy; and so reconciling them to God through Christ: And if they will examine Matters without Partiality, seeking the truth and resolving to follow it, wherever they find it; and joyn with their Enquiries, earnest Prayers to God, *the Father of lights*, to open their eyes, and grant them his Holy Spirit, to lead them into all truth; there is little doubt to be made, but the great Evidence that is in Truth, will in due time appear so clear to them as to dissipate all these mists, which Education, implicate Faith, and Superstition have raised, by which they have hitherto darkened.



F I N I S.



A
RELATION⁴
Of the *Barbarous* and *Bloody*
MASSACRE
Of about an Hundred thousand
PROTESTANTS,

B E G U N

At *P A R I S*, and carried on over all
F R A N C E, by the *P A P I S T S*,
In the Year 1572.

Collected out of *Mezeray*, *Ibuanus*,
And other approved Authors.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Richard Chiswell*, at the Role and Crown
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1678.



RELATION

Of the Pastors and People

MASSACHUSETTS

about an Hundred thousand

PROTESTANTS

07:3723

by the P A P I S T S
in the Year 1771

Collected out of Manuscripts, Towns,
And other approved Authors

L O N D O N

Printed for Richard Dingley, at the Rose and Crown
in St. Pauls Church-yard 1771

A Relation of the Massacre of the Protestants, begun in Paris, and carried on over all France, in the Year 1572.

THere are no Principles of Morality more universally received, and that make deeper impressions on the minds of all men, that are more necessary for the good of human Society, and do more resemble the Divine Perfections, than Truth and Goodness. So that if our Saviour denounced a Woe against those who teach men to break the least of his Commandments, what may they look for, who design to subvert these that may be justly called the greatest of them?

That the Church of *Rome* teaches Barbarity and Cruelty against all who receive not their Opinions; and that Hereticks are to be delivered to Secular Princes, who must burn them without mercy; or if they have either Bowels or Conscience, so that they will not be the Instruments of their Cruelty, that they shall lose their Kingdoms or Dominions, is known to all that have read the Decrees of the *4th* Council in the *Lateran*. The violation of Publick Faith was also decreed by another of their General Councils at *Constance*; in which, notwithstanding the safe conduct that *Sigismund* had granted to *John Husse* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, care was not only taken that they should be burnt; but they made it a standing Rule for the time to come, That tho Hereticks came to the place of Judgment, trusting to their safe conduct, and would not have come without it; yet the Prince who granted it, was under no Obligation by it, but the Church might proceed to Censures and Punishment. By these Decrees, Cruelty and Treachery are become a part of their Doctrine, and they may join them to their Creed, upon as good Reasons as they can shew for many of their other Additions.

The Nature of Man is not yet sunk so low, as easily to hear these things without horror; therefore it is fit they should be kept among the Secrets of their Religion, till a fit opportunity appear, in which they may serve a turn: and then we need not doubt but they will be made use of. If any will be so charitable to their

Church, as not easily to believe this, the History of the *Parisian* Massacre may satisfy them to the full ; which *Thuanus* says was a Pitch of Barbarity beyond any thing that former Ages had ever seen : And if the *Irish* Massacre, flowing from the same Spirit, and the same Principles, had not gone beyond it, we might have reasonably concluded that it could never be matched again. But we may be taught from such Precedents what we ought to expect whenever we are at the mercy of Persons of that Religion, who, if they be true Sons of the Church of *Rome*, must renounce both Faith and Mercy to all Hereticks.

I shall give the Relation of this Massacre from that celebrated late Writer of the *French* History, *Mr. de Mezeray*, only adding some Passages out of *Thuanus*, *Davila*, and others, where he is defective.

But I shall premise a short representation of the Civil Wars of *France*, which are made use of as the Arguments for justifying that Cruelty, and by which they do still blemish the Protestant Religion, as teaching Rebellion against Princes.

During the Reign of *Francis* the 1st, and *Henry* the 2^d, the Protestant Religion got great footing in *France* ; the usual severities of the Church of *Rome* were then employed to extirpate it ; yet tho their Numbers were very great, and the Persecution most severe, they made no resistance. But upon the death of *Henry* the 2^d, *Catherine de Medici*, the Queen Mother, with the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Guise*, took the Government in their Hands ; pretending that the King (*Francis* the 2^d) was of Age, being then Sixteen. The Princes of the Blood on the other hand alledged, That the Kingdom ought to be under a Regency till the King was at least 22 years of Age : Since *Charles* the 6th had been admitted at that Age to the Government, as a particular mark of their esteem of him : So that tho the Age of Majority was at 25 Years, and that was a singular exception from a general Rule, yet at furthest, it shewed that the King could not assume the Government before he was two and twenty.

It was also an undoubted Right of the Princes of the Blood to hold the Regency during the Minority of their Kings ; and to administer it by the Direction of the Parliaments, and the Assembly of the States. Upon these Points, many things were written on both sides. The Princes of the Blood pretended they were excluded from the Government, against Law, and upon that were projecting how to possess themselves of the Power ; which, with the Person of the King, were violently kept from them. But the Prince of *Conde*, being advised to it by *Coligny* then Admiral of

France,

Thuanus.

The Abstract of the Books written upon this Head, is in the Voluminous but Anonymous History of these Wars, printed at Paris, An. 1581.

Thuanus,
lib. 16.

France, did also declare for mitigating the Severities against the Protestants. This being the Case, that the Point was truly disputable, no man can blame the Protestants for joining with their Friends against their Enemies. And yet this Plot was driven no further, than an endeavour to take the King out of the Hands of his Mother, and the Brothers of *Lorraine*, who were all Foreigners. The chief Promoter of it was a Papist, *Renaudy*, and it was discovered by *Avennelles*; who tho he was most firm to his Religion, being a Protestant, yet having an aversion to all Plots, revealed it out of scruple of Conscience.

*Tonanus.
Mortray.*

Soon after this Discovery, *Francis* the 2^d died; and his Brother that succeeded him, *Charles* the 9th, was without dispute under Age, he not being then full eleven years old. And according to the resolution of many great Lawyers in the case of his Brother, the Kingdom ought to have been under a Regency, during all the Wars that preceded the Massacre, for he was then but two and twenty. At first it was agreed to, that the King of *Navarre*, as the first Prince of the Blood, ought to be Regent; but he being wrought on by the Queen-Mother and her Party, and drawn over to them, the Lawyers were again set to examine, How far the Power of the Regent did extend: Many published their Opinions, That the other Princes of the Blood ought to have their share in the Regency, and that the Regents might be checkt by the Courts of Parliaments, and were subject to an Assembly of the States.

The chief Point of State, then under Consideration, was, What way to proceed with the Protestants, whose Numbers grew daily, and were now more considerable, having such powerful Heads. A severe Edict came out against them in *July* 1561, condemning all Meetings for Religious Worship, except those that were celebrated with the Rites of the Church of *Rome*, banishing all the Protestant Ministers, and appointing the Bishops to proceed against Hereticks; with this only mitigation of former Cruelties, That Banishment should be the highest Punishment. But the Nation could not bear the Execution of this: So next *January* there was a great Assembly called of the Princes of the Blood, the Privy Counsellors, and eight Courts of Parliament, in which the Edict that carried the name of the Month, was passed. By it, the free exercise of that Religion was tolerated, and the Magistrates were required to punish all who should hinder or interrupt it.

Not long after that, the Duke of *Guise* did disturb a Meeting of Protestants at *Vassy*, as he was on his Journey to *Paris*; his Servants began with reproachful words, and from these they went to blows

*Davi's,
lib. 3.*

blows. It ended in a throwing of Stones, one of which hurt the Duke ; but that was severely revenged, about 60 were killed, and 200 wounded, no Age or Sex being spared. Upon this he encouraged the violation of the Edict every where ; so that it was universally broken. The King of *Navarre* joined with him in these Courses ; but the Prince of *Conde*, that was next to him in the Royal Blood, declared for the Edicts: Many great Lawyers were of opinion, That the Regents Power was not so vast as to suspend or break the Edict, and that therefore the People might follow any Person, much more the next Prince of the Blood, in defence of it. This Plea was yet stronger, before the Year ended ; for the King of *Navarre* being killed, the Prince of *Conde* was then by the Law of *France* the Rightful Regent : So that all the Wars that followed afterwards, till the Year 1570, had this to be said for them, That in the Opinion of very Learned Men, the King was all that while under Age, that the Edicts were broken, the Kingdom governed by a Woman and Foreigners, against Law, and that the lawful Regent was excluded from the Government ; which made King *James*, whose Judgment is not to be suspected in this Case, always justify the Protestants in *France*, and excuse them from Rebellion.

This is a piece of History little understood, and generally made use of to blemish the Reformation ; therefore I thought it necessary to introduce the following Relation with this just account of these Wars, that were the pretended grounds with which the House of *Guise* covered their own Ambition, and hatred of the Family of *Burbon*.

After *France* had suffered all the Miseries which a course of Civil Wars for ten years together carries after it, the King was advised to set on foot a Treaty of Peace ; not so much out of a design to quiet Matters by a happy settlement, as to ensnare the Protestants into some fatal Trap, in which they being catch'd, might be safely and easily destroyed. The chief Authors of this advice, were the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal of *Lorain*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Count of *Rets*, and *Birague* ; the last three were *Italians*, and so better fitted both for designing and carrying on so wicked a Council, to which the Duke of *Anjou*, afterwards *Henry* the third, was also admitted.

“ They said the extirpation of Heresy might be done much
 “ cheaper than by a Civil War. It was fit first to grant the Prote-
 “ stants what conditions they desired, then to treat them with all
 “ possible kindness ; by which their Jealousies were to be once
 “ extin-

"extinguished ; and a confidence being begotten in them, then
 "to draw the chief Heads of the Party to Court, upon some spe-
 "cious Attractive, and there they were sure of them. The first
 "Bait to be offered, was the marriage of the King's Sister to the
 "King of *Navarre* ; and if that succeeded not, they were to in-
 "vent still a new one, till they found that which would do the
 "Business. All the danger of this Counsel was, that the Pope
 "and the King of *Spain* would be much provok'd by it ; and there
 "might be some hazard of Tumults, among the zealous People of
 "*France*, if the King seemed to favour the Hereticks too much.
 "But they reckoned, that when the Design took effect, all who
 "might be discontented with the appearance of favour shewed to
 "them, would be well satisfied, and the more the Pope and *Spani-*
 "*ard* complained of it, it would advance their chief end, of crea-
 "ting a confidence in the Protestants more effectually. Thus
 were their Councils laid. The Room in which this was first pro-
 jected, was the Council-Chamber of *Blois*, where 16 Years after *Thuanus,*
 the Duke of *Guise* was killed by *Henry* the third's orders. And it *lib. 49.*
 was more fully concluded in that Chamber at *St. Clou*, where
 the same *Henry* the third was murdered by a Dominican.

The Design being agreed on, the Queen-Mother made some of
 her Spies among the Protestants, assure them that she hated the
 King of *Spain* mortally, both on her Daughter's account that was
 his Queen, and as was universally believed, had been poisoned by
 his Orders ; as also upon the consideration of her own Family of
Florence, to which the *Spaniard* was then an uneasy Neighbour ;
 and designed to take the Territory of *Siena* out of their Hands.
 It was reasonable enough to believe, that upon such Motives, a
 Woman of her temper would set on a War with *Spain*. The King
 did also express a great inclination to the same War, and to under-
 take the Protection of the *Neiberlands*, which were then under the
 Tyranny of the Duke of *Alva's* Government. This wanted not
 a fair pretence, *Flanders* having been formerly subject to the
 Crown of *France*. He also seemed weary of the greatness of the
 Duke of *Guise* and his Party, which a Civil War did still increase.

The King and the Queen Mother employed also in these Mes-
 sages, *Biron*, *Momurancy*, *Cosse* and others, who were Men of great
 Integrity, and had much Friendship for the Queen of *Navarre*
 and the Admiral, that were the Heads of the Protestant Party.
 The Queen of *Navarre* was sensible of the great advantages her
 Son would receive from such an Alliance. An Army was also pro-
 mised her, for the recovery of her Kingdom from the *Spaniards* ;
 which

which had been easily regained, if the Crown of *France* had assisted her ; since the Southern Parts of *France* were almost all Protestants, who would have willingly served her against *Spain*. Only she being a most Religious Woman, had great apprehensions of the unlawfulness, at least the extream danger of matching her Son to one of a different Religion ; therefore she took some time to consider of that part of the Proposition. The Admiral was very weary of the Civil War ; it both ruined his Country, and slackened the discipline of War, which he had formerly observed with a *Roman* Severity.

He thought the Conquest of the *Netherlands* would be an easy and a great accession to the Crown ; he knew there was none so likely to be employed in it as himself, and he was resolved to carry all the Soldiers of the Religion with him. And being Admiral, he also designed to raise the greatness of the Crown both at Sea, and in the new-found World, which was then sending over an incredible deal of Wealth to *Spain* ; in which the *Spaniards*, who had landed in *Florida*, and killed a Colony of the *French*, that was settled there, had given just cause to make War upon them. Therefore as he had often expressed his being so averse to a Civil War, that he could no longer look on and see the Miseries it brought on his Country ; so he was made believe the King did in good earnest intend to assist the *Flemings*, which being both against the *Spaniard*, and in defence of those of the same Religion, he would by no means hinder.

Upon these Considerations, there was a Peace concluded between the King and the Protestants, by which the free exercise of their Religion was granted : some Cautionary Towns were also put in their Hands, to be kept by them two Years, till there were a full settlement made of the Edicts, and the other things agreed to, for their Security. The King acted his part with all the Artifice possible, he became much kinder to the Family of *Montmorancy*, and the rest of the Admiral's Friends, and seemed to neglect those of *Lorraine*. He threatened the Parliament of *Paris*, because they made some difficulty in passing the Edict in favour of the Protestants. He went secretly to meet with *Lewis* Count of *Nassau*, and treated with him about the Wars of the *Netherlands*. He married the Emperor's Daughter, who was thought a Protestant in his Heart. He entered in a Confederacy with *Q. Elizabeth* ; and the Cardinal of *Chastillon* (the Admiral's Brother, who had renounced his Red Hat, and turned a Protestant) being then in *England*, was employed to set on foot a Treaty of Marriage between

tween the Duke of *Anjou* and the Queen: A Peace was also made with the Princes of the Empire. And tho both the *Spanish* Ambassador and the Legate did all they could to hinder the Peace, and the Marriage of the King of *Navarre*, yet they seemed to make no account of that at Court: Only the King gave the Legate great assurances of his Fidelity to the Apostolick See. and that all that he was doing, was for the interest of the Catholick Religion. And taking him one day by the Hand, "He desired him to assure the Pope, that his design in this Marriage, was, that he might be revenged on those that were Enemies to God, and Rebels against himself, and that he would either punish them severely, and cut them all in pieces, or lose his Crown. All which he would do in compliance with the Advices he had received from the Pope, who continually set him on to destroy them; and he saw no way of doing it so securely, as by getting them once to trust him, having tried all other methods in vain. And for a pledge of his Faith, he offered him a Ring of great value; which the Legate refused to take, pretending that he never took Presents from any Prince; and that the Word of so great a King, was a better security than any Pledge whatsoever.

*Caten. vita
de Pio
Quinto.*

Upon all these demonstrations of Friendship made to the Protestants, it was no wonder if Persons of such Candor as the Queen of *Navarre* and the Admiral, were deceived. The Admiral went first to Court, where he was received by the King with the greatest shew of kindness and respect that was possible. He embraced him thrice, laid his Cheek to his, squeezing his Hands, called him *Father*, and left nothing undone that might possess him with a firm opinion of his Friendship. Nor was the Queen-Mother less officious to express her kindness to him. He was allowed to keep fifty armed Gentlemen about him. An hundred thousand *Franks* were sent him, for furnishing his Houses that had been spoiled during the Wars. And which was more than all the rest, when Complaints were carried by him to the King, of some who violated the Edict, great Insolencies being committed in many places; the King ordered them to be exemplarily punished. So that there was a general repining over all *France*, at the King's kindness to him. The King had also told him, that now he had got him near him, he would never suffer him to leave him any more.

The Design succeeding so well on the Admiral, the Proposition of the Marriage was also carried on; and the Queen of *Navarre* was next brought to Court, but soon after died (as was generally believed) of Poyson, that was given her in some per-

lumed Gloves; to conceal which, the Chirurgeons that opened her, would not touch her Head, but pretended she died of an Imposthume in her side. The Cardinal of *Chastillon* was also at that time poysoned, which tho afterwards confessed by him that had done it, yet was not then so much as suspected.

The King seemed more and more set on the War in *Flanders*. He sent both to *England* and *Germany*, to consult about the Preparations for it, and had agreed with the Prince of *Orange*, about the Division of the *Netherlands*: That all on their side of *Antwerp* should come to the Crown of *France*; and what lay on the other side of it should belong to the *States*. He sent a Protestant his Ambassador to *Constantinople*, to engage the Grand Signior unto a War with *Spain*. He also furnished the Count of *Nassau* with Money, and sent some of his best Captains with him to try if they could surprize any Towns near the Frontier, who did their part so dextrously, that *Mons* was surprized by the Count of *Nassau*, and *Valenciennes* by *La Noije*, according to *Mezeray*; tho he seems to be mistaken as to *Valenciennes*, for *Thuanus* and *Davila* say nothing of it, but mention *Mons* only. And *Veremundus Frisius*, who wrote the History of that Massacre the Year after, says, That they missed their Design in surprizing *Valenciennes*, upon which they went to *Mons* and carried it. Upon this all reckoned that the King was now engaged, and the War begun. So the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* were brought to Court, and received with all the Marks of a firm Friendship that could be invented. A Dispensation was obtained from the new Pope for the Marriage. *Veremundus* says, Pope *Pius* the 5th had always opposed it; but upon the Cardinal of *Alexandria's* return to *Rome*, who went to assist in the Conclave where *Gregory* the 13th was chosen, the new Pope easily granted the Bull; which was believed to have flowed from the Information he received from that Cardinal, of the King's Design in this Marriage, which to be sure his Holiness would neither obstruct nor delay. So the Bull being sent to the Cardinal of *Burbon*, the day was set, and the chief Heads of the Protestants were all drawn into *Paris*, partly to assist at the Solemnities of a Marriage, which they hoped would put an end to all their Troubles; partly to get Charges in the Army, which all People believed would be commanded by the Admiral. Only many of the hottest of them had followed *Jensu* and *La Noije* into *Flanders*, where it was intended to abandon them to the cruelty of the Duke of *Alva*, who had intercepted and cut off a great Body of them commanded by *Jensu*. The Admiral pressed the King

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to declare the War immediately ; foreseeing that unless it followed suddenly, his Friends that had surprized these Towns, would be destroyed, and the whole Design spoiled. But the King put him off with delays, in which he expressed much Confidence in him, by telling him the secret grounds he had to distrust almost every Person about him : and that therefore he must of necessity settle his Court and Councils first, before he could enter upon such a War.

But now the Design being ripe, the Duke of *Guise*, to whom it had also been communicated, was employed to gather many desperate Men about him, who might be fit to execute all Orders ; and the thing getting into more hands, took wind, so that they at *Rochel* being informed of some suspicious Passages, wrote to the Admiral, to disabuse him, and desired he would leave the Court, and trust no more to the fair appearances he saw there ; since these were only the Masks of some great Mischief that was framing. To them he wrote a long Answer, and assured them, " That the King's Heart was wholly changed, that there was never a better Prince in the World, and that for his own part he would die a thousand Deaths, rather than suspect him capable " of so base a Design. Then he laid before them all the reasons " which induced him to believe the War with *Spain* was really intended ; and therefore he desired that they would lay down " their groundless Jealousies. And when some that were about him pressed the same things upon him ; he told them plainly, He would rather be destroyed than make a new Rupture ; and would be dragged at Horse-heels through *Paris*, rather than begin another Civil War. His Authority was so great, and his Experience so approved, that the whole Party submitted to his Judgment : And he got some Cautionary Towns, that were by the Treaty of Peace to be restored at the end of two Years, to be delivered up three Weeks before the time was elapsed : Only the *Rochellers* were a little more apprehensive, and would not receive a Garison.

On the 17th of *August* was the King of *Navarre* Married, and four days were spent in all the gallant Diversions that are usual on such Occasions, but were now performed with more than ordinary Magnificence and Joy.

Hitherto the Mine was working under ground, and now it was time for it to play. There was nothing could be blamed in the Conduct of the Protestants, but too much Candor, and too great Confidence. They knew they designed nothing but the quiet of their Country, and the Greatness of the Crown They were ca-

jo'd with the most engaging tokens of Friendship that ever were shewed on any such Occasion ; they thought the King was sincere, and being then but coming to be of Age, was taking new Measures. And he had so covered the Cruelty of his Temper with a shew of good Nature, that they expected they should be most happy under him. And for the Queen-Mother, tho they knew her too well to put any confidence in her, yet her Passion for her Family, and her Revenge for the poysoning of her Daughter, made them think they were also well assured of her. And indeed so deep and so refin'd a Dissimulation was perhaps never before acted. There was but one part of the King's Deportment that could give any ground for Jealousy, the horrid and blasphemous Oaths and Imprecations which he made use of on all occasions to persuade them of the reality of his Professions ; which always raise suspicion in sober and wary Persons. These the King used so frequently, that the Writers of that time say, That he seldom spoke three words without some terrible Oath, or blasphemous Expression ; which from his ill Example was so spread over all *France*, that none but the *Protestants* spoke in any other strain.

But now when it fell under Consideration how their Designs should be executed, the Queen with her two *Italian* Confidants, the Count de *Rets*, and *Birague*, who, next to the *Protestants*, hated the House of *Guise* beyond all the World, yet dissembling it most artificially, intended that the business should be so managed, as to ruin both the *Protestants* and that Family at once. Therefore they thought, that if some of their Followers would assassinate the Admiral, the *Protestants* would turn their Revenge on them ; and they knew the *Parisians* would be easily moved to rise against the *Protestants* ; and so they reckoned that if an attempt was made upon the Admiral by any of the Duke of *Guise's* Creatures, his Party would presently take a severe Revenge on the Head of the House of *Guise*, and the *Parisian* would be soon brought out to destroy them.

They concealed this part of their Design, and in the Cabinet-Council only proposed, that the Duke of *Guise* would find some person to kill the Admiral, which should pass like an act of private Revenge ; and they said, they did not doubt but the whole Party would upon that take Arms. and thereupon there would be a good colour given, to bring out the City of *Paris* upon them. The Duke of *Guise* being young and hot, and boiling with Revenge for his Father's Blood, undertook it ; not considering that himself might perish in the first heat of action, as the Queen hoped he should. He pitch'd on *Mauvemet*, who had formerly assassinated

finated another Person, and placed him in the House of one that had been his Tutor, near *St. German* of *Auxerre*, where the Admiral used to pass, as he went or came from the *Louvre*.

It was now necessary to execute their Design quickly, for the *Protestants* were beginning to apprehend some danger. They saw the King was resolved to let those who had surprized the Towns in *Flanders* perish, without sending them any Relief. The Admiral was resolved to take leave within a few days: His Friend, the Duke of *Montmorency*, tho no *Protestant*, yet saw the Storm coming, and retired to his House: and many little Circumstances occurred, which gave them all just cause of fear: So the other Party had no time to lose. Therefore on the 22d of *August*, about Noon, as the Admiral was going Home from the Court, reading a Paper that he had in his hand, the Assassinate that was laid for him, shot him from the House where the Duke of *Guise* had placed him: His Fuzee was charged with three Bullets, that were believed to be poisoned. One of these carried away part of the Fore-finger of his Right Hand; the other stuck in his Left Arm, and the third missed him. He received it with great Presence of Mind, and pointed to the House from whence it came; he also sent one to the King to give him notice of it, and then ordered his Arm to be bound up, and so went Home, leaning on his Servants. Some run to the House, and broke into it, but found none there, save a Lacquey, and a Maid, and the Fuzee, which the Murderer left behind him, when he made his escape. The King was in the Tennis-Court when the News was brought him: He personated a deep resentment, and said in a Tone that seemed full of affliction, and with a terrible Oath, *Shall I never have quiet!* and so threw away his Racquet, and went out in a rage. The Duke of *Guise* did also counterfeit some Surprise.

But they missed their designs both ways, for neither was the Admiral killed, nor did the *Protestants* fly out into any disorder. The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* came upon this to the King to complain, and desired leave to go out of Town, since Men were not safe so near the Court. The King seemed to resent it more than they did, and with the horriblest Oaths he could think of, swore he would execute such a Revenge on all that were found guilty of it, whoever they were, that it should never be forgotten; and desired them to stay and be Witnesses of it. The Queen-Mother made also shew of inflaming his Rage with most vehement Expressions, so that they were persuaded to stay. The King ordered the Murderer to be pursued, the two Servants

to be Examined, and all the Gates of *Paris* (except two) to be kept shut. The Admiral's Carriage on this occasion was suitable to the rest of his behaviour, and equal to what the greatest Heroes had ever shewed. *Ambrose Parè*, the famous Surgeon, dressed his Wound, he made the Incision into his Arm, that he might take out the Bullet, and did cut off his Finger for fear of a Gangreen : But his Scissars not being sharp enough, he put him to extreme pain, and did not cut it off but at the third reprieve ; during all which, the Admiral expressed no impatience nor anger. But as *Parè* told *Thuanus*, he said to Mr. *Maur* a Minister that stood by, *Now I perceive that I am beloved of God, since I suffer these Wounds for his most holy Name.* And during the Operation he often repeated these words, *O my God, forsake me not, and withdraw not thy wonted Favour from me !* And whispered one that was holding his Arm, in the Ear, that he should distribute an Hundred Crowns among the Poor of *Paris*.

Next day *Damvil*, *Coffe*, and *Villars*, came to visit and comfort him, but confessed it was needless, for he expressed great resolution of mind, and readiness to dye, only he desired to see the King, and speak with him before he died. *Damvil* and *Teligny* (the Admiral's Son in-Law) carried this Message to the King, who very readily yielded to it. The Queen-Mother apprehending the great Genius of the Admiral, and fearing lest he should turn her Son to better Councils, would needs go with the King. His two Brothers, with twelve of the chief Persons in the Court, waited also on him, to make a shew of putting the more Honour on the Admiral, but really to watch the King, that he might have no opportunity of speaking with him alone. When the King came to his Bed side, he expressed the greatest tenderness possible, and in his Looks, and the Tone of his Voice, counterfeited a most profound Sorrow, and said to him, *You, my Father, have received the Wound, but I feel the smart of it, and will punish it in so severe a manner, that the like was never seen.* The Admiral thanked him, and told him, By his Wound he might well perceive who were the Authors of the Troubles of *France*. He pressed him earnestly to go on with the War in *Flanders*, and not leave all those Gallant Persons to the Duke of *Alva's* Insolence and Cruelty, who had trusted to his Protection. He complained of the Violation of the Edict in several parts of *France* ; and desired the King to consider how much it concerned him both in Honour and Interest, to keep his Faith inviolated. The King gave him full assurances of this, but avoided the discourse of *Flanders*, and with repeated Oaths told him, he would

would punish this Fact against him, as if it had been done against himself. Then the Admiral desired to speak privately with the King, which lasted not long; for the Queen-Mother, apprehending what the subject of his Discourse might be, came to the Bed-side, and told the King, that so long a Conversation would much endanger the Admiral's health, and so broke it off. Yet it seems, as short as it was, it made some Impression; for when she asked the King what it was that he had said to him? He answered, *He had advised him to Reign himself, and he was resolved to follow it.* When this was over, the King asked the Admiral's Friends, and the Physicians many questions about his Health, and proposed for his greater security, the carrying him to the *Louvre*. But the Physicians said, he could not be safely removed. So after he had staid an hour he left him; during which time he acted the part he intended to play, so well, that all the Witnesses were-satisfied with the Sincerity and Passion he expressed.

The Court of Parliament examined the Maid and Lacquey, that were taken in the House from whence he was shot, about the Murtherer; and many presumptions appeared against the Duke of *Guise*, whose Servants, they found, had brought him to that House, and provided an Horse for his escape. The King wrote that same day both to his Ambassadors in Foreign Parts, and to the Governors of the Provinces, shewing them what had befallen the Admiral, and how much he resented it. The next day, being the 23^d, the Duke of *Guise* and his Uncle the Duke of *Aumale*, came and desired leave to go out of Town. The King by his Looks and Carriage seemed to abhor them; and said, they might do what they pleased; but as they went away, he said, they might go whither they would, but he should find them out, if they appeared to be guilty of that Fact. And so they mounted on Horseback, and rode to the Port St. *Anthony*, as if they had intended to go out of Town, but came back to *Guise*-House; and began to raise a great stir in *Paris*. They called many about them, and sent their Agents all over the Town, and sent Arms to divers places. When News of this was brought to the Admiral, he sent to the King to desire a Guard, so 50 were sent under the Command of *Cossens*, one of his bitterest Enemies. But to cover the matter better, some of the King of *Navarre's* *Swisses* were sent to Guard within his House. The King did also order all the Papists that lay near his House, to remove their Lodgings, that the Protestants might have conveniency to be about him, and gather together if there should be any Tumult. He also desired the King of *Navarre*,

Navarre, and the Prince of *Conde* would gather about them their best Friends, that they might be prepared to defend themselves, in case the Duke of *Guise* should raise any disorders.

All this seemed not only sincere, but kind ; and by these Arts were the Protestants not only secured from their fears, but had great hopes raised in them : And thus the greatest part of them were brought within the Net that was laid for their ruin. Only the Vice Lord (or *Vidam*) of *Chartres* saw through the disguise : And a Council of their Party being held in the Admiral's Chamber, he spoke freely, and told them, the Admiral's Wound was the first Act of the Tragedy, and more would soon follow. Therefore he proposed that he might be carried to *Chastillon*, ill as he was, in which there was less danger, than to stay in a place where they and all their Friends would be suddenly destroyed. *Teligny* and others that were fully persuaded of the King's good Intentions, opposed this much, and said it would shew such a distrust of the King as might for ever lose him, that was then beginning to favour their Party. But the *Vidam* answered, that stay who would, he would not stay longer than To-morrow, for he was assured their stay would be fatal to themselves, and all their Friends.

There was a perfidious Person in that Assembly, one *Bouchevennes*, who was an Intelligencer to the Queen-Mother, and carried presently an account of their Consultation to her. She and her Party were now pressed with time, therefore the execution of their Design could be no longer delayed than the next Night. So the Council met, and resolved, that not only the Persons of Quality of the Religion should be killed, but that every one, of what condition soever, that were of that Profession, should be Massacred. It was debated long, whether the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* should perish with the rest ? for the Duke of *Guise* his Party had a great mind to destroy the whole Family of *Burbon* : But as for the King of *Navarre*, it was thought contrary to the Laws of Nations, of Hospitality, and of Nature, to murder a King, that had come under Trust to the Court, and was now so nearly allied to the King ; and was guilty of no Crime, but what he had from his Education. So it was resolved, he should be spared, and made change his Religion. But for the Prince of *Conde*, he was naturally fierce, and that Temper joined with the memory of his Father, made them less inclined to save him : Only the Duke of *Nevers*, who had married his Wife's Sister, interposed vigorously for him, and undertook that he should become a good Catholick, and a faithful Subject : And he prevailed,

vailed, tho with great difficulty, that he should be spared. But for the rest, it was agreed on, to raise the Town of *Paris*, and set them upon them, who were inflamed into such a Rage against that Parry, that they knew it would be an easy work to engage them in any sort of Cruelty against them.

The conduct of it was committed to the Duke of *Guise*, who undertook it very chearfully. He did first communicate it to the Guards, and ordered them to keep a strict Watch both about the *Louvre*, and the places where the Admiral and his Friends were lodged, that none might escape; then he desired the Provost (or Major) of *Paris*, and the chief Magistrates and Officers of the City would meet at Midnight in the Town-House, where they should receive their Orders. They met accordingly, and it was intimated to them, That the King was now resolved to destroy the Hereticks, who had so long distracted his Kingdom; that therefore every one should go to his Quarter, and have all People in readiness, with the greatest secrecy that might be, and that they should have many Torches and Flambeaus ready, to light out at their Windows. The Sign should be a white Linnen Sleeve on their Left Arm, and a white Cross in their Caps: And at the tolling of the great Bell of the Palace, which should be done near the break of Day, they should light their Torches and march.

The King in the mean while was under great irresolution. The horror of the Fact, the infamy that would follow it, and the danger he might be in, if it either miscarried, or were not fully executed, could not but fill him with Confusion. But the Queen, who had overcome all the impressions of Tendernefs and Pity that are natural to her Sex, hearing of it, came to him, and studied to confirm him in his former Resolutions, representing to him all the trouble they had given him in the former Wars, and that he might expect yet worse, if he would let go this opportunity of securing the quiet of his whole Reign. She knew how to work upon him so well, that in the end she prevailed, and the King swore deeply he would go through with it. Upon that, she being impatient, and fearing a new turn in the King's Thoughts, made the Bell of *St. Germain's* be tolled which was the warning for tolling that in the Palace.

This fatal Signal was given the Morning of the 24th of *August*, *St. Bartholomew's* day, being Sunday; and was followed with a general Rising of the whole City of *Paris*. The March of Soldiers, the noise of their Arms, and the lightning of so many Torches, awakened the poor *Protestants*, who now saw visibly that their ruin was both near and inevitable. Some of them went out to the

Streets, and asked what the matter might be, of so great a Concourse, and so many Torches and armed Men, at such an hour ? Some answered, as they had been instructed to say, till all things should be ready, that there was to be a Mock-Siege of a Fort in the *Louvre*, for the King's Diversion. So they went forward to satisfy their Curiosity, but quickly found it was a real Massacre, and not a Mock Siege that was intended, and they were the first Sacrifices of that bloody Festivity. There were now about threescore thousand Men brought together. The Duke of *Guise*, with his Uncle *Amale*, resolved first to satisfy their Revenge on the Admiral, and therefore went to his Gate, where *Cossens* kept guard, on design to betray him the more effectually. He called to open the Gate ; which being done, they killed the Porter, and broke into the Court. But the King of *Navarre's* *Swisses* barricado'd the next Gate, and made some resistance. This dismal noise awakened the Admiral, who at first apprehended it might be some Tumult of the Populace, which he hoped the King's Guards would easily disperse. But when he perceived it increased, then he saw he was to be destroyed. So he took his Night-Gown and got up. Those that were about him were amazed at the constancy of his Mind ; his Minister *Merlin* prayed ; and when that was ended, He said to those that were about him, *I see now what this will end in, but I am prepared to meet Death, which I have often looked for, but was never afraid of : I account my self happy since it is so near me, having in this my Death, through the Grace of God, the hope of Eternal Life. I need no more the help of Men, therefore farewell, my Friends, and try how you can save your selves, that you be not involved in my Ruin, lest by my Death I make more Widows than one : I have help enough in the presence of God, into whose hands I commit my Soul, which is soon to be discharged out of this Body.* All this he spoke without the least commotion or appearance of fear. Then those about him left him, and got up to the Roof of the House. By that time the Murderers had broke in, and seven of them being all in Armour, came into his Chamber. *Besme*, that had been one of the Duke of *Guise's* Grooms, advanced towards him ; to whom he said, *Young Man, you ought to reverence my gray Hairs, but you cannot shorten my Life much.* They all stood a while amazed at such undaunted courage, and so composed a behaviour, which as one of them told *Tbuanus*, was the most extraordinary thing that ever he saw his whole Life. *Besme* did first thrust him into the Belly, and then cut him over the Face ; at which he fell, and the others struck at him till he was quite dead. The Duke of *Guise* being below in the Court, heard the noise, and called to them

them to throw him out at the Window, which *Besme* and another did. And either the Duke, or the Count of *Angoulême* (for it is differently reported) wiped his Face, which was disfigured with Blood, to know if it was he indeed, and perceiving it was so, trampled on his Belly, and went away. An *Italian* cut off his Head, and carried it first to the Queen-Mother, and then enbalm'd it, and sent it to *Rome*, (not only as the *Protestants* say, which is disingeniously added by *Mazera*, for *Thuanus* affirms it). Then all the ignominy and barbarity possible, was exercised about the dead Carcass, his Fingers and Hands were cut off, his Body dragged about the Streets, thrown in the *Seine*, and hanged up in Chains, his Feet uppermost; and a fire was set under to burn it, but it only dried it and did not consume it. Some days after *Monmorancy* caused it to be taken down secretly, and buried it in his Chappel at *Chantilly*.

Thus fell the Admiral, that for all noble Qualities necessary either to a great Captain, or a compleat Statesman, may be equalled to any of the Ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*; and for Piety and other Christian Virtues, was the Wonder of the Age he lived in.

But the Cruelty of the Duke of *Guise* and his Party was rather kindled than satiated with his Blood. So he and his Company went out to the streets, and cried aloud, *It was the King's Command they should go on, and finish what they had begun*. And so the Multitude was let loose to murder all that were of the Religion, and the plunder of their Houses was to be their reward. This was followed with the most enraged and cruel Massacre that ever was heard of. It exceeded all that either the Heathens had done, or their Poets had feigned. Every Man seemed a Fury, and as if they had been transformed into Tygres and Wolves, outdid the very cruelty of Beasts of Prey. The bare relation of Matters of Fact, is beyond all that Eloquence can invent, by which it may be aggravated: And indeed a strict Narrative of what was really done, will appear some Ages hence, as a Tragical Description of an imaginary Cruelty, rather than a true History. Five hundred Persons of Quality were murdered, and in all 4000, according to *Thuanus* and *Mazera*. Prefixe the late B. of *Paris*, says there were twenty Lords of Note killed, and Twelve hundred Gentlemen, and between Three and four thousand others. But *Veremundus* says they were Ten thousand. No Age nor Sex was spared; Husbands and Wives were killed in one anothers Arms, after they saw their Children murdered at their feet. One butcher'd an innocent Babe, as it was playing with his Beard. Men of fourscore were not left to the course of Nature, but hewen down. Nor did a sin-

gle death satisfy their brutal rage, but they made them die many deaths, before death relieved them. One would cut off the Nose, another the Ear, a third the Hands, and a fourth the Arms of the same Person, before they would be so merciful as to kill him outright. Those that fled up to the tops of their Houses, were made leap over to the Streets, where they were knocked down with Halberts. Such as ran out to escape through dark Passages, were either instantly killed, or driven to the *Seine*, where they took pleasure to kill and drown them with much art. Dead Bodies floated all along the *Seine*, and were lying in heaps thorough the Streets. In many places the Kennels ran Blood. There was nothing to be heard but the howlings of mangled and dying Persons; or the horrid blasphemies of their accursed Butchers. They searched all the Corners of their Houses, as Hounds pursuing for prey. No man delivered his Friend; no Host had pity on his Guest: Only one brave Man saved his Enemy.

The *Louvre* it self was full of Blood, and the dead Corpses of those whom the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* had brought about them for their security: but where they expected a Sanctuary, they found a Massacre. It is needless to reckon up the Names of those Noble Persons who were then destroyed; for the Memory of *Rechfoucant*, *Teligny*, *Renel*, *Piles*, *Pluvial*, *Baudine*, *Guerchy*, *Lavardin*, *Nompar*, or *La Force*, and five hundred more will be ever sacred; yet in this Nation where these Families are not known, the recital would be tedious and useless. Of all those *Guerchy* alone died with a Sword in his Hand, but could hurt none of those that assaulted him, they having Armour on them.

This horrible Confusion gave the Alarm to those who lay in the Suburbs on the other side of the *Seine*, to make haste and be gone; and they, having no suspicion of the King himself, were thinking to have gone over and sheltered themselves within the *Louvre*. The *Parisians* had now lost all order, and were fallen to plunder, so that they could not be brought together: Therefore the Duke of *Guse* sent over some of the *Swisse* Guards in Boats to kill them, and himself followed with some Horse; and had it not been for the mistake of him who brought the wrong Keys of the Gate thorough which he was to pass, they had been all surprized before they had resolved what course to take. But day appearing, they saw enough to convince them it was not time to delay any more: So in the greatest confusion possible, they got on Horseback, and fled away. The Duke of *Guse* pursued them, but they were out of his reach, and not being strong enough to defend themselves, and keep in a Body, they dispersed and escaped.

But

But the Fury that they fled from, continued in *Paris* all that day, and the two following days : In which nothing was left undone, that ingenious and desperate Cruelty could suggest. Six hundred Houses were pillaged. And after such a glut of Blood, Mens minds becoming savage, they fell to revenge private Enmities, even upon their Fellow-Papists ; many of whom were in the end also murdered ; but those were chiefly *Momorancy* his Friends, who were thought cold in the matter of Religion.

The most enraged of their Blood-hounds were *Tanchou*, *Pesou*, and *Crozier* a Goldsmith ; the two former drove many to the Mills, and forced them to leap from thence into the River. *Pesou* boasted to the King himself, that he had made an hundred and fifty leap that night. And *Thuanus* says he often heard *Crozier* say, That with that Hand he had killed 400 : by which it seems he was thought so sanctified, that he would live no longer a common life, but as a sacred Person went to an Hermitage ; where yet his Cruelty left him not ; for during the Wars of the League, he drew a *Flemish* Merchant into his Cell, and murdered him there. Thus were the Protestants destroyed in *Paris*, with a Treachery and Cruelty that the uncivilized Nations had never shewed to one another, nor had the Heathens been ever guilty of any thing like it towards the Christians. The Precedent which the Church of *Rome* had formerly given in the *Massacre* of the *Albigenses*, was the likeliest thing in History to it for Barbarity ; but never had Treachery and Cruelty met together in such a manner, before this execrable day.

At Court, all those generous Impressions which follow Noble Blood, seemed extinguished. Men threw off Humanity, and Women had neither Compassion nor Modesty. The Queen-Mother and her Ladies took pleasure to look upon the most detestable Objects, and greedily beheld some obscene and indecent sights : But it is not fit to write all that was then done. About nine of the Clock the King sent for the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, and told them he was forced to use that severe Remedy, to put an end to War and Rebellion, and had therefore destroyed those whom he could not induce to obey : And for them, tho he had good reason to hate them mortally, since they had led on a Rebellion against him yet in consideration of their Blood and Alliance, he was resolved to spare them if they would change their Religion, otherwise they must look for no better usage than their Servants had met with. The King spake this with great Rage, so that the King of *Navarre* being terrified, said, That if the King would save their Lives, and leave them their Consciences free,
they

they should in all other things be commanded by him. But the Prince of *Conde* answered more boldly, That he might dispose of his Life and Estate as he pleased, but for his Religion, he owed an account of it to God alone, from whom he received the knowledge of it. This resolute Answer put the King in such a Rage, that after he had treated him with most abusive Language, he swore, That if he did not change within three days, he should hang for it. And so ordered them to be strictly guarded. At the same time there were Expresses dispatched over all *France*, to set on the People both in the Towns and Country, to imitate the example of the *Parisians*, and destroy the Hereticks. Yet the King either out of some remorse or shame, wrote to his Ambassadors and the Governors of the Provinces that same day, That the Duke of *Guise*, and others that adhered to him, having a great interest in the City of *Paris*, and apprehending that the Admiral's Friends were resolved to revenge his Wound, had therefore, both to secure themselves, and to prosecute their former Quarrels, raised the City of *Paris*, and had broke through the Guards set to defend the Admiral, and killed him and many other Persons of Quality; the Rage of the People being such, that the King's Guards could do nothing to repress it: Therefore he was forced to keep himself within the *Leuore*, but had, as soon as was possible, quieted the Town; so that all things were put in order again, and he was resolved still to maintain his Edict made for the free Exercise of their Religion. *Veremundus* has printed the Copies of the Letters, directed to the Governors of *Burgundy* and *Tourain*, and to the Town of *Bourges*, with the Memorial sent to the *Swiss* Cantons, all to the same purpose, bearing date the 24th of *August*. And in another Letter the King wrote, That he had made up a new agreement with the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, and was resolved to run the same hazard with them, for revenging the death of his Cousin the late Admiral. But the House of *Guise* would not bear this, and made the King own that all was done by his expresse Orders. So on the 26th of *August* the King went to the Court of Parliament, and after an invidious Repetition of all the Troubles of his Reign, which yet he said he intended to have quieted by the late Treaty of Peace, he discovered that the Admiral had conspired to kill him, his Brothers, and the King of *Navarre*, and to set up the young Prince of *Conde*, whom he also designed afterwards to kill, that so the whole Royal Family being destroyed, he might make himself King: And since extreme Diseases required extreme Remedies, he was forced to do what he

had

had done ; and concluded, that all was done by his exprefs Order and Command. *Thuanus* the Father, tho he abhorred the thing, yet out of fear and compliance made a bafe flattering Speech, of the neceffity of diffimulation in Princes, and did much commend that faying of *Lewis* the 11th, *He who knows not how to difsemble, knows not how to Reign*. And *Pibrac* the Attorney-General, moved the King, that the Declaration he had made, might be entered in their Registers, and that ftrict Orders might be given, to put an end to the Blood and Confufion with which the City was filled: Both which the King ordered to be done. The Declaration which was thereupon publifhed on the 28th, is printed by *Vermundus*. By it the King charged all Perfons, under pain of Death, through the whole Kingdom, to do no injury to the *Proteftants*. And at the fame time declared it Capital for the *Proteftants* to have any Affemblies. This was believed to be done rather on defign to deftroy than fave the *Hugonots*: That they being out of apprehenfion of danger, might ftay all at Home, and fo be more eafily Maffacred. On the 28th of *Auguft*, a Jubilee was granted to all who had been in this Butchery; and they were commanded to go every where to Church, and blefs God for the fucces of that Action. So little relenting had they, after all thefe black Crimes, that they imagined they had done God good fervice: And to that height did their Impudence rife, that they prefumed to addrefs to that Merciful Being, who abhors cruel and blood-thirfty Men, and that with hands not only defiled with Blood, but boasting of it as a Sacrifice offered to God, which had been a fitter Oblation to him *that was a Lyar and a Murderer from the beginning*, than the God of Truth, and Father of Mercies.

One remarkable Passage fell out, which occafioned much Difcourfe, and was variously conftituted by the feveral Parties. On the day of the Maffacre, about Noon, a white Thorn in the Church-yard of the Innocents, that was almoft dead, and had no Leaves on it, flourifhed all of a fudden. This was publifhed through the Streets of *Paris*, as a Sign that Heaven approved their actions, and was made ufe of to animate them to new heats in their Cruelty: For every one was fet on to kill one or other, that he might be honoured with the fight of fo unufual a thing. Some thought it might come from the nature of the Tree, and it was faid fuch things were not extraordinary in Trees of that kind, a little before they became quite dead. Others believed it might be the Trick of fome Monk, who pouring either hot Water, or fome prepared Water at the Root of it, might have done the feat. But
the

the Rabble did universally ascribe it to some miraculous Cause, only they differed about that to which it referred. The *Protestants* said it signified their Innocence, and that a new Troop of Innocents were sent to Heaven, and therefore the Tree in the Church-yard of the Innocents flourished afresh. The *Papists* said it signified the joy in Heaven at that day's work, and that the Church was to flourish again by the death of the Hereticks.

But leaving these discantings on this seeming Miracle, *Morvilier* that was Lord-Keeper, advised, That for justifying, or at least mitigating the Censures that might be made on these proceedings, there should be a Process carried on against the dead Admiral, to prove him guilty of a Conspiracy against the King and the Royal Blood; and there were some few *Protestants* kept Prisoners, who had been taken out of the *English* Ambassador's Lodgings, who to save themselves, they hop'd might be brought to accuse the Admiral. But while this Mock-Process was making, there was a real prosecution of the like Cruelties in many other parts of *France*.

At *Meaux*, a little Town not far from *Paris*, they began on the 25th of *August*, being *Monday*, and spent the whole Week in shedding more Blood. They killed two hundred; many of those were Women, whom they Forced before they Murdered them. At *Troye* in *Champaigne*, about the same number was killed. At *Orleans*, a thousand were also killed. Six or seven hundred at *Roan*, tho the Governor did what he could to hinder it. At *Bourges*, *Newers*, and *Charite*, all they found were killed. At *Tbolouse* two hundred were killed. At *Burdeaux*, they were for some time in suspense, being afraid of the *Rochellers*; but the Priests did so inflame the Multitude, that the Governor could not restrain their Rage longer than the beginning of *October*; so then they Massacred all that they could find. This beginning was followed by all the Towns on the *Garvinne*. But next to *Paris*, *Lions* was the place where the most barbarous Cruelties were acted. The Governor had a mind to save the *Protestants*, and gathered together about six or seven hundred of them, whom he lodged in several Prisons, that so he might preserve them: And to give the People some content, he granted them the Pillage of their Houses. But they were so heated by the Clergy, and by some that were sent from the Court, to promote the Massacre every where, that they broke open the Prisons, and murdered them all, dragged their Bodies through the Streets, and opened the Bellies of the fattest of them, to sell their Grease to Apothecaries. And when they could do no more, they threw them into the River of *Rhesne*, which was coloured with the

the Blood, and filled with the Carcasses of the slain. These Examples were followed in many more places, but detested by others, who were not Papists enough to overcome Nature and all Morality. The Governors in some places restrained the People; and in many places the Soldiers, tho more inured to Blood, defended the Protestants from the Rabble, that were set on by the Priests. The Answer the Governor of *Bayonne* made, deserves to be remembered, who wrote to the King in these Words:

- S I R ,

I Have communicated your Majesty's Command to the Inhabitants of the Town, and the Soldiers of the Garison. I find many good Citizens, and brave Soldiers, but never a Hangman here. And therefore in their Name and my own, I humbly beg your Majesty would employ our Arms and Lives in things which are possible for us to do, how dangerous soever they may be, and we will spend the last drop of our Blood in your Service.

This gave great Offence at Court, and soon after, both he and the Count of *Tendes*, Governor of *Provence*, who had also given Orders, that there should be no Massacre made within his Jurisdiction, died very suddenly : And it was believed they were both poisoned. In all there were, as *Thuanus* says, Thirty thousand massacred over *France*, tho he believes they were not quite so many. *Mezeray* estimates them at five and twenty Thousand. But *Perefixe* says, that over all *France*, near an Hundred thousand were butchered. And *Veremundus* says, that besides those who were killed, an Hundred thousand Persons were sent a begging, most of those being Widows and Orphans. Many of them fled to the places of strength in *France*, and great numbers went out of the Kingdom. For when they had escaped the first rage of the Massacre, they clearly perceived the design of their Enemies was to extirpate them Root and Branch. And tho the King at first declared he would observe the Edict inviolably, they had learned from sad experience how little his Faith was to be depended on, and they were further convinced of it by fresh Proofs. For the King pressed the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* very hard, to change their Religion : the former was tractable, and hearkned to instruction ; but the latter continued resolute, and would hear nothing. This put the King once into such a Rage, that he called for his Arms, and was going in Person either to kill him, or see him killed, had not his virtuous Queen, who had been instructed by her Father, to abhor all cruel Proceedings about Religion, cast her self at his Feet, and with many Tears diverted him from so ignominious an

Mezeray.

*Hist. Hen.
the 4th.*

Action. But he sent for him, and said only these three words to him, *Mafs, Death, or the Bastil.* Yet he generously resolved to suffer Death, or perpetual Imprisonment, rather than go to Mafs, had they not found out a Tool fit to work on him. One *Sureau-des-Rosiers*, that had been Minister of the Protestants at *Orleans*, had now to save his Life, changed his Religion: But to have some Reputation in it, pretended that he had resolved to have done it sooner; tho when that fear was over, he returned to them again, but was never much considered after that. He was therefore employed to persuade the Prince of *Conde*; and what by his endeavours, and what by fear of Death, both the King of *Navarre* and he went to Mafs, and wrote Letters full of Submission and Obedience to the Pope; tho they were no sooner out of that Snare, than they declared that what had been obtain'd of them, was extorted by force.

This being done, the King sent his Orders over all *France*, bearing date the 22^d of *September*, to turn all Persons out of any considerable Employments, that would not renounce their Religion; and a long sort of Abjuration was sent with it, which was to be the Test: both which are printed by *Veremundus*.

The Process against the Admiral was carried on before the Parliament of *Paris*, and (without any Proofs that ever were published) they on the 27th of *October*, "judged him guilty of a Conspiracy against the King and his Crown: And therefore ordained his Body to be hanged, if it could be found; or if not, that he should be hanged in Effigie; his House of *Chastillon* to be razed, and a Pillar set up with an Inscription to defame his Memory; his Blood was also attainted, and his Children declared ignoble and incapable of any Privileges in *France*. And the Sentence concluded with an Order for celebrating *St. Bartholomew's* day in all time coming, with Processions and publick Thanksgivings for the Discovery and Punishment of that Conspiracy. There were also two other Persons of Quality, *Cavagnes* and *Briquemaunt*, who had been dealt with to accuse the Admiral, but they would not save themselves by so base a Ransom; so they were both condemned as Complices with him. But when the Sentence was pronounced against them, *Tbuanus*, that was an Eye-Witness, says, *Briquemaunt* cried out, when that part of the Judgment was read that concerned his Children, *Ab Innocents, what have they done?* And then he, who for 50 years together had served in the Wars with a high and approved Valour, being then 70, what for fear of Death, what out of pity to his Children, would have done any thing to have saved himself. He sent the King word, first that he would

would put *Rochel* in his Hands, if he would spare his Life: But that being rejected, he offered to accuse the Admiral, to preserve himself. But neither was that considered. All that while his Fellow-Sufferer *Cavagnes* continued most serious in his Devotions, and for three hours together was either Praying, or reciting some Psalms; and expressed no concern for his Life, his Thoughts being wholly employed about Eternity. He encouraged *Briquemaui* to die as he had lived, and to turn himself to God, and not to stain so honourable a Life as he had led, with an ignominious end. And he seeing he must die, recollected his Thoughts, and seemed ashamed of his former abject behaviour, and composed and prepared himself for Death. They both were carried to the place of Execution in Hurdles, where they not only suffered the reproaches of the Multitude as they went along (who threw Filth and Clay at them, with their most scurrilous Language) but Death it self, with much Christian Patience and Magnanimity. They were hanged at the *Greve*, and their Bodies, after they were dead, were barbarously mangled by the cruel Multitude. With them the brave Admiral was hanged in Effigie, whose Innocence, as well as their own, they did to their last Breath assert. The King, who delighted in such bloody Spectacles, did not only look on himself, with the Queen-Mother and the Court, but forced the King of *Navarre* likewise to be a Witness of it.

It is needless to say much for evincing the Admiral's Innocence, for all the Writers of the time acknowledge the Process was only to cover the Infamy of the Massacre. And *Thuanus* has so fully demonstrated it, that none can so much as doubt of it. If the Admiral had any such design, why came he to Court? Why to *Paris*, where he knew he had few Friends, and a vast number of mortal Enemies? and why did he desire a Guard from the King? But since they could not find a better colour for so foul a Business, they must make use of the best they had. They took another course to stop the Queen of *England's* Resentments, who besides the common Cause of Religion, had a particular esteem for the Admiral; for they shewed a Memorial which he had given the King to persuade the War of *Flanders*, to *Walsingham* (the ever renowned Secretary of State) then her Ambassador in *France*; in which one of the reasons was, "That if the King would not receive these oppressed Provinces into his Protection, they would throw themselves into the Queen of *England's* hands; and if the *English* made themselves Masters of them, or of any considerable Ports in them, they would be again uneasy and formidable Neighbours to

“ *France*, which would thereby lose the great security they had in taking *Calice* out of their Hands. When *Walsingham* read this, and was asked, what he thought of the Admiral’s Friendship to his Mistress? he answered, as became so great a Man, “ That he could not say much of his Friendship to the Queen of *England*, but he was sure it appeared from that, what a faithful Subject he was to the King of *France*.

A Week after this was done, the King compleated the Treachery of this Precedure; for by his Letters directed to the Governors of the Provinces, bearing date the 3^d of *November*, he declared he would Tolerate no Religion but the *Roman-Catholick*, in all his Dominions. Upon which the following Civil Wars began; and in excuse of them I shall only say, that besides the barbarous and perfidious Treatment the *Protestants* had now received, they had this legal Warrant for standing on their own defence, That by the former Treaty the King granted them Cautionary Towns, for Pledges of the observation of the Edict. And it is certain, that if a Prince grants his Subjects Cautionary Towns for their Security, he does thereby relax their Allegiance to him, and gives them a right to defend themselves, if the Agreement upon which these Pledges were given, should come to be broken.

This is the true and just account of that foul and treacherous Massacre, even as it is represented by the Historians of that Age and Church, who can neither deny nor excuse the Infamy of it; tho some rejoiced at it, and others wrote in defence of it. The King gloried so much in it, that three Medals were struck, to perpetuate the memory of it. In one, *Hercules* is both with his Club and a Flambeau, fighting against the seven-headed Serpent, with this Motto, *Ne ferrum temnat, simul ignis obsto*. On the reverse, the King with his Hand supports two Crowned Pillars, ready to fall, with this Motto, *Mira fides, lapsas relevat manus una Columnas*. Hereby intimating, that Heresy was the Serpent, which was to be destroyed by main Force, and by Fire: And that by this Act, the King had supported Religion and Justice. In the second, the King sits in his Chair of State, with a Sword in his Right Hand, and an Hand on the Head of a Scepter in his Left; and many Heads lying about his Feet, with this Motto, *Virtus in Rebelles*. On the Reverse, were the Arms of *France*, between two Pillars and two Laurel Branches, with this Motto, *Virtus excitavit Justitiam*. The third had on the one side a Woman environed with Rays, and a Book open in one hand, and a Palm in the other, and at her Feet many Heads in Flames, with this Motto, *Subdaccendis rationibus*.

bus. The Reverse was the same with the first. The Signification of this, was Religion triumphing over Heresy.

But this was only a false shew of Joy, for he was inwardly tormented with the horrors of a guilty Conscience, which the effusion of so much Blood did justly raise in him; so that being often troubled with Visions, he was frequently heard say, *Ab! my poor Subjects, what had you done? But I was forced to it.* The strange manner of his Death looked like a signal Judgment from Heaven for that bloody day; for after a long Sickness, which was believed the effect of a latent Poison given him by the Queen-Mother, Blood not only came out through all the Conduits of his Body, but through the very Pores, so that he was sometimes found all bathed in his own Blood. And he that had made his Kingdom swim with Blood, died thus wallowing in his own.

All the fervile Pens of the Lawyers, and the bitter ones of enraged Priests, were also set on work to appear in Defence of it: Of whose Writings *Tbuanus* gives a full account. One mercenary Protestant was also hired to excuse, if not to defend it. I have never been able to meet with any of these Books, only *Rossius* that wrote in defence of the Holy League, calls it *the Justice of St. Bartholomews day.* And *Andreas Eudemon Johannes* does also commend it.

The Arguments they used have been formerly glanced at. The late Civil Wars; the pretended Conspiracy of the Admiral; the necessity of using desperate Remedies in extreme Cases; and the Sovereign Power of Kings, were what the Lawyers could pretend: But the Divines had a better Plea, That by one General Council all Hereticks were to be extirpated. And by another, *Faith was not to be kept to them.* And it cannot be denied, but this is unanswerable, according to the Principles of the Roman Church. The Protestants were not wanting to their own Cause, but answered these Books, and sufficiently discover'd the impudent Allegations of those shameless Persons who hired themselves out to defend so horrid an Action.

Maximilian the 2d, the Emperor, is the Person whose Judgment we have least reason to suspect. He was the King of France his Father in-Law, and both by Blood and Alliance was joined to the Crown of Spain; yet he in a private Letter, writing to *Scuendi* his chief Minister in Hungary, has delivered his sense of this Matter so sincerely and fully; and that whole Letter is so excellently well written, and shews so much true Piety, and so rare a Temper of Mind, that I shall not fear the Readers Censure for inserting it at its full length. It is but in one Book that I know, and that is very scarce.

*Coming to
Collection,
p. 278.*

Dear

Dear *Scuendi*,

I Received your Letter, and took in good part your Christian and Friendly Condolance for my late Sickneſs. The Eternal God, in whoſe hands are all things, do with me according to his Will. I bleſs him for every thing that befalls me. He only knows beſt what is healthful and profitable, and what is hurtful to me. I do patiently and chearfully acquieſce in his Divine Pleaſure. And indeed Matters go ſo in this World, that a Man can have little pleaſure or quiet in them; for every where there is nothing to be found but trouble, treachery, and foul dealing. God pity us, and deliver his Church from theſe miſchiefs. It were no wonder, if from ſuch a proſpect of Affairs, a man ſhould become ſtupid or mad; of which I could ſay much to you. I begin to recover, and am now ſo ſtrong, that I walk about with a Stick. God be bleſſed in all his Works.

For that ſtrange thing which the *French* have lately acted moſt tyrannically againſt the Admiral and his Friends, I am far from approving it; and it was a great grief to me to hear that my Son-in-Law had been perſuaded to that vile Maſſacre; tho I know that others reign rather than he; yet that is not ſufficient to excuſe him, nor to palliate ſuch a wickedneſs. I would to God he had asked my advice, I ſhould have given him faithful and fatherly Counſel, and he ſhould never have had my conſent to this Crime, which has caſt ſuch a blemiſh on him, that he will never waſh it off.

God forgive them that lie under ſuch guilt. I apprehend within a little while they ſhall perceive what they have gained by this method. For indeed, as you obſerve well, the Matters of Religion are not to be handled or decided by the Sword: and no man can think otherwiſe, that is either pious, or honeſt, or deſirous of Publick Peace and Happineſs. Far otherwiſe did Chriſt teach, and his Apoſtles inſtruct us; their Sword was their Tongue, their Doctrine the Word of God, and a Life worthy of Chriſt. Their Example ſhould draw us to follow them, in ſo far as they were followers of Chriſt.

Besides, that mad ſort of People might have ſeen, after ſo many Years Trials, and ſo many Experiments, that by their Cruelties, Punishments, Slaughters and Burnings, this Buſineſs cannot be effected. In a word, Their ways do not at all pleaſe me, nor can I ever be induced to approve them, unleſs I ſhould become mad or diſtracted; which I pray God earneſtly to preſerve me from.

And yet I ſhall not conceal from you, That ſome impudent and lying Knaves have given out, That whatever the *French* have done,

' done, was by my knowledge and approbation. In this I appeal
' to God, who knows how deeply I am injured by it ; but such
' Lies and Calumnies are no new things to me. I have been often
' forced to bear them formerly ; and in all such cases I commit
' my self to God, who knows in his own good time how to clear
' me, and vindicate my innocence.

' As for the *Netherlands*, I can as little approve of the Excesses
' committed there. And I do well remember how often I wrote to
' the King of *Spain*, Advices far different from those they have fol-
' lowed. But what shall I say ? The Councils of the *Spaniards* relish-
' ed better than mine. They now begin to see their Error, and that
' they themselves have occasioned all the mischief that hath since
' followed. I had a good end before me, that these noble and re-
' nown'd Provinces might not be so miserably destroyed. And tho'
' they would not follow my Counsel, so that I may well be excu-
' sed from meddling any more, yet I do not give over, but am
' sincerely pressing them all I can to follow another method.

' God grant I may see the wish'd-for effect of these endeavours,
' and that men may be at last satisfied with what they have done,
' and may use no more such violent Remedies. In a word, Let the
' *Spaniards* or the *French* do what they will, they shall be made to
' give an account of their Actions to God, the Righteous and Just
' Judge. And for my part, by the help of God I shall carry my self
' honestly, Christianly, and faithfully, with all candor and upright-
' ness ; and I hope God will so assist me with his Grace and Blef-
' sing, that I may approve all my Designs and Actions, both to
' him and to all men. And if I do this, I little regard a wicked
' and malicious World.

How the rest of the World looked on this Action, may be easi-
ly gathered from the Inclinations and Interests of the several Par-
ties. That all Protestants did every where abhor it, and hold the re-
membrance of it still in detestation, needs not be doubted. All
that were noble or generous in the *Roman Church* were ashamed of
it, but many extolled it to the Heavens as a work of Angels ; and
others did cast the blame of it on the Protestants. The Court of
Spain rejoiced openly at it. They delighted in the shedding of Pro-
testant Blood, and were also glad to see *France* again embroil'd,
and to be freed of the fears they had of a War in *Flanders*. In
which if the French King had engaged, he had in all appearance
conquered in one year, that for which his Successors have been
since fighting a whole Age.

But let us next examine how the tidings of this Massacre were
received ;

received at *Rome*, by which we may judge how fitly that part of Antichrist's Character, of *being drunk with the Blood of the Saints*, agrees to it. The News was brought thither the 6th of *September*, upon which a Consistory of the Cardinals was presently called, and the Legate's Letter, that contained a Relation of the Massacre, being read, they went straight in a Procession to *St. Mark's Church*, where they offered up their solemn thanks to God for this great Blessing to the *See of Rome*, and the *Catholic Church*. And on Monday following, there was another Procession made by the Pope and Cardinals to the *Minerva*, where they had high Mass, and then the Pope granted a Jubilee to all Christendom: And one of the Reasons was, *That they should thank God for the slaughter of the Enemies of the Church*, lately executed in *France*. Two days after that, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, had another great Procession of all the Clergy, the Ambassadors, Cardinals, and the Pope himself, who came to *St. Lewis Chappel*, where the Cardinal celebrated Mass himself. And in the King of *France* his Name he thanked the Pope and the Cardinals, for their good Councils, the help they had given him, and the assistance he received from their Prayers, of which he had found most wonderful effects, He also delivered the King's Letters to the Pope, in which he wrote, *That more Hereticks had been destroyed in that one day, than in all the twelve years of the War.*

*Histoire de
France, An.
1581.*

Nor did the Pope think there was yet Blood enough shed, but that which all the world condemn'd as excessive Cruelty, he apprehended was too gentle. Therefore he sent Cardinal *Ursin* his Legate in all haste to *France*, to thank the King for so great a Service done the Church, and to desire him to go on, and extirpate Heresy Root and Branch, that it might never grow again. In order to which, he was to procure the Council of *Trent* to be received into *France*; and as the Legat passed through in his Journey to *Paris*, he gave a plenary Absolution to all that had been Actors in the Massacre.

The best Picture-drawers, and workers of Tapistry, were also put to work to set off this Action with all possible glory, and a Sure of these Hangings are to this day in the Pope's Chappel. So well do they like the thing, that they preserve the remembrance of it still, even in the place of their Worship. Such a representation does indeed very well agree with their Devotion, whose Religion and Doctrine led on their Votaries to the thing so expressed. By this we may easily gather what is to be expected from that Court, and what we ought to look for, whenever we are at the mercy of Men, whose Religion will not only bear them through, but set them on to commit the most Treacherous and Bloody Massacres.

F I N I S.

A
D E C R E E
M A D E A T
R O M E,

The Second of March, 1679.

Condemning

Some Opinions

O F T H E

J E S U I T S

And Other

C A S U I S T S.

L O N D O N:

Printed for Ric. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1679.

Sec 07-1050

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THIS Decree, which is now so much talked of in *France*, being sent over to me, I thought it would not be ungrateful to this Nation to have it reprinted here with any *English* Translation. But lest some unwary Readers might make an ill use of it, I judged it needful to prepare them to it by two Reflections, which from the reading of the Decree they ought to make.

The first is, That those monstrous Tenets for which we have so often heard the Casuists of the *Roman* Church, particularly the Jesuits, accused, are no false Imputations unjustly laid to their Charge, but are truly delivered by them. This none can have a face to deny any more, since the Pope and a Congregation of Cardinals have gathered these Opinions out of the Books of Casuists, and have thus condemned them. So that our Divines who have charged that Church for tolerating these impious and immoral Doctrines, are no more to be suspected as false Accusers, since here we have Witnesses beyond exception, that these Opinions have been publicly taught by the Masters of the Casuistical Divinity among them.

Of the following Propositions I desire the Reader

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may consider the 26th and 27th, by which he will see that those Directors of Consciences teach, *That if a man is questioned whether he has done a thing that he really did, he may forswear it, meaning within himself some other thing, or any other way of doing it, or any addition to what he says, in which cases he does not lie, nor is he perjured: And a just cause of such Reservations, is, when they are necessary to save our Life, Honour, or Goods, or for any other act of Virtue; so that the concealment of Truth be judged expedient or desirable.*

By this Doctrine, suppose a man is examined concerning the Murder of Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, that was privy to it, he may swear he knows nothing of it, meaning either that he was not unjustly murdered, or that he was not murdered with an ill intention, or that he knows nothing of it so as to tell those who examine him: And there is a very just cause for using these Reservations, since such denials are intended to preserve the Lives, Honour, and Goods of Catholicks. These being the Opinions of their Doctors, none can wonder if the People, a great part of whose Devotion it is to obey their Confessors, are persuaded into such practices.

But to this it may be now opposed, that these Opinions being condemned by the Pope, we need fear the ill effects of them no more. Upon this I shall make a second Reflection, which is no less clear than the former, That this Condemnation is so lame and defective, that notwithstanding it, even those who
submit

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submit to the Infallibility of the See of *Rome*, may still hold the following Positions. I need not desire the Reader to observe, that it is above twenty years since Complaints were first made to the Popes by some of their own Clergy in *France*, of the Immoral and Impious Doctrines of the Casuists : But so prevalent were the Arts that the Jesuits have used to obstruct any Censure, that the World has been all this while corrupted with these ill Opinions, which many Confessors have infused into Peoples Consciences; whereby it cannot be doubted but many thousand Souls have been lost : And this Sentence which has been but a Week in *England*, comes too late for them who are already in another World, and are answering for the Prevarications to which they may have been persuaded by their Confessors.

But after all this Condemnation, we are not at all secured from the ill effects of these Opinions. For the Pope does not condemn them as Impious, Immoral, or contrary to the Laws of God and Nature : Nor does he require all persons under the pain of mortal sin, or as they would not incur the indignation of Almighty God, to teach these Propositions no more; tho that is the common Style of Bulls, in matters of much less concernment. If he had done it thus, the Condemnation had been of greater Authority; and to all that believe the Pope infallible, had been indeed obligatory and indispensable. But it is of a far milder strain; these Opinions are declared

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* See the like remark made on the Censure that Pope Alexander the 7th passed on some other Propositions by D. Lloyd in his Sermon at the Funeral of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, P. 32. 33.

red to be at least * *scandalous and pernicious in practice*. How softly and mercifully does his Holiness treat them? To be Scandalous and Pernicious, amounts to no more, but that such Propositions have ill effects; but does not conclude them to be ill in themselves. If then the case comes, that these Opinions may have good effects, the Pope by a Faculty may dispense with them, since they are not declared to be in themselves evil or impious.

All persons are also required neither to defend nor publish them, nor reduce them to practice: This is only a Prohibition, but no Condemnation. The Pains are, Excommunication *ipso facto*, and they are required in the virtue of *Holy Obedience* to do so no more. Nothing here of the Law of God and Nature, but only *Holy Obedience*: Therefore since the Pope can dispense with all the Laws of the Church, but more particularly with the Obedience due to himself, it is evident from hence that all the effect this Decree can have, is only to make it necessary for Confessors to procure a Faculty dispensing with it, before they may possess their Penitents with these Opinions: which, how easily it may be obtained at *Rome*, is well enough known.

So that by this Decree these two Points are clearly made out, that such Opinions are maintained by many Casuists in the Roman Communion; and that this notwithstanding they may be still taught among them.

D E-

DECRETUM

S. S. D. N. D. INNOCENTII DIVINA
Providentia Papæ XI. quo 65. Casuistarum
Propositiones ad minus tanquam scandalosas &
in praxi perniciosas damnavit, & sub pœna ex-
communicationis *ipso facto*, & S. Sedi Aposto-
licæ reservatæ ab ullo defendi vel edi prohibuit.

THE DECREE

*Of our Most Holy Father INNOCENT by the
Divine Providence the XI. Pope, by which he has
condemned 65 Propositions of Casuists, as at least
scandalous and pernicious in practice, and has Pro-
hibited them to be defended or published by any,
under the pain of Excommunication ipso facto, and
that to be reserved to the Holy Apostolick See.*

Feria

Feria v. die 2. Martii 1679.

IN GENERALI CONGREGATIONE

*Sanctæ Romanæ, & Universalis Inquisitionis habita
in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano coram Sanctissimo D.
N. D. Innocentio Divina Providentia Papa XI. ac
Eminentissimis, & Reverendissimis Dominis S. R. E.
Cardinalibus in tota Republica Christiana contra Hæ-
reticam pravitatem Generalibus Inquisitoribus, à San-
cta Sede Apostolica specialiter deputatis.*

SANCTISSIMUS D. N. INNOCENTIUS PAPA XI. predictus ovium
sibi à Deo creditarum saluti sedulo incumbens, & salubre
opus in segregandis noxiis doctrinarum pascuis ab innoxiiis
à scel. record. Alexandro VII. Prædecessore suo inchoa-
tum prosequi volens, plurimas propositiones partim ex diversis,
vel libris, vel thesibus, seu scriptis excerptas, & partim noviter ad-
inventas Theologorum plurium examini, & deinde Eminentissi-
mis, & Reverendissimis Dominis Cardinalibus contra hæreticam
pravitatem Generalibus Inquisitoribus subjecit. Quibus proposi-
tionibus sedulo, & accurate sæpius discussis eorumdem Eminen-
tissimorum Cardinalium, & Theologorum votis per Sanctitatem
Suam auditis. Idem Sanctissimus D. N. re postea maturè consi-
derata, statuit, & decrevit pro nunc sequentes propositiones, &
unamquamque ipsarum, sicut jacent, ut minimùm tanquàm scan-
dalosas, & in praxi perniciosas, esse damnandas, & prohibendas,
sicuti eas damnat, & prohibet. Non intendens tamen Sanctitas
Sua per hoc Decretum alias propositiones in ipso non expressas,
& Sanctitati Sux quomodolibet, & ex quacumque parte exhibi-
tas, vel exhibendas ullatenus approbare.

Thursday the 2d of March, 1679.

In a General Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, held in the Apostolick Palace in the *Vatican*, before our most H. Father *Innocent*, by the Divine Providence the XI. Pope; and the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lords, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, being specially deputed by the Holy Apostolick See, to be the General Inquisitors for the whole Christian Commonwealth, against all Heretical Pravity.

OUR said most Holy Father Pope *Innocent* the XI. considering seriously the salvation of the Sheep committed to him by God, and designing to prosecute that healthful work that was begun by his Predecessor *Alexander* the 7th of happy Memory, of separating the buriful Pastures of evil Doctrines from those that are not so, has gathered many Propositions, partly out of Books, Theses, or other Writings; partly out of some late Innovations; and appointed them to be examined by several Divines, and has since laid them before the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Cardinals, who are the General Inquisitors against Heretical Pravity. Which Propositions having been diligently, exactly, and frequently discussed, and the Opinions of the said most Eminent Cardinals and Divines having been heard by his Holiness, the said most Holy Father having maturely considered the Matter, has at present appointed and decreed, That the following Propositions, and every one of them, as they are set down, shall be damned and prohibited, as being at least scandalous and pernicious in practice; like as he does hereby damn and prohibit them. His Holiness not intending by the Decree to approve in any manner, other Propositions that are not here expressed, that either have been or shall be hereafter presented to him.

B

1. L



1. **N**ON est illicitum in Sacramentis conferendis sequi opinionem probabilem de valore Sacramenti, relicta tutiore, nisi id vetet lex, conventio, aut periculum gravis damni incurrendi. Hinc sententia probabili tantum utendum non est in collatione Baptismi, Ordinis Sacerdotalis, aut Episcopalis.

2. Probabiliter existimo, Judicem posse judicare juxta opinionem etiam minus probabilem.

3. Generatim dum probabilitate, sive intrinseca sive extrinseca quamvis tenui, modò à probabilitatis finibus non exeat, consili aliquid agimus, semper prudenter agimus.

4. Ab infidelitate excusabitur infidelis non credens ductus opinionem minus probabili.

5. An peccet mortaliter, qui actum dilectionis Dei semel tantum in vita eliceret, condemnare non audemus.

6. Probabile est, nè singulis quidem rigorosè quinquenniis per se obligare præceptum charitatis erga Deum.

7. Tunc solum obligat, quando tenemur justificari, & non habemus aliam viam, quâ justificari possumus.

8. Comedere, & bibere usque ad satietatem ob solam voluptatem non est peccatum, modò non obsit valetudini, quia licet potest appetitus naturalis suis actibus frui.

9. Opus Conjugii ob solam voluptatem exercitum omni penitus caret culpa, ac defectu veniali.

10. Non tenemur proximum diligere actu interno, & formali.

11. Præcepto proximum diligendi satisfacere possumus per solos actus externos.

12. Vix in Sæcularibus invenies, etiam in Regibus superfluum statui. Et ita vix aliquis tenetur ad eleemosynam, quando tenetur tantum ex superfluo statui.

13. Si cum debita moderatione facias, potes absque peccato mortali de vita alicujus tristari, & de illius morte naturali gaudere, illam inefficaci affectu petere, & desiderare, non quidem ex displicentia personæ, sed ob aliquod temporale emolumentum.

1. **I**T is not unlawful in the Administration of the Sacraments to follow a Probable Opinion concerning the Validity of the Sacraments, rather than one that is more safe, unless that be forbidden by a Law, Agreement, or the hazard of some great Damage. Hence it follows, that an Opinion only probable is not to be followed in the conferring of Baptism, or of Priestly or Episcopal Orders.

2. I think it Probable, that a Judge may give sentence according to an Opinion that is less Probable.

3. Generally when we do any thing trusting to the Probability of it, whether it be Intrinsical (which is grounded on Reason), or Extrinsical (that is grounded on Authority), were it ever so small, so we do not go beyond the bounds of probability, we act always prudently.

4. An Infidel that will not believe, trusting to an Opinion that is less probable, shall be thereby excused from his Infidelity.

5. We dare not condemn a man of Mortal sin, that never had any act of love to God, but one, in his whole life.

6. It is probable that the Precept of loving God, does not oblige rigorously, and of it self, no not once every fifth year.

7. It only then obliges us, when we are bound to put our selves in a state of Justification, and have no other way left us by which we can do it.

8. It is no sin to eat and drink to satiety only for pleasure, so that it does not prejudice our health; for the natural appetite may lawfully enjoy its proper acts.

9. The use of Marriage only for pleasure, is free of all fault, and even of a venial defect.

10. We are not bound to love our Neighbour by an internal formal act.

11. We obey the Command of loving our Neighbour by external acts only.

12. It is hard to find among secular persons, even Kings, an abundance; so there is scarce any body bound to give Alms, if one is only obliged to give out of their abundance.

13. One may without Mortal sin be troubled for the life of another, so he does it with due moderation: and one may rejoice at the natural death of another, and desire and wish it with inefficacious desires, so it be not out of dislike to the person, but for some temporal advantage.

14. Licitum est absoluto desiderio cupere mortem Patris, non quidem, ut malum Patris, sed ut bonum cupientis, quia nimirum ei obventura est pinguis hæreditas.

15. Licitum est filio gaudere de parricidio Parentis à se inebrietate perpetrato propter ingentes divitias inde ex hæreditate consecutas.

16. Fides non censetur cadere sub præceptum speciale, & secundum se.

17. Satis est, actum fidei semel in vita elicere.

18. Si à potestate publica quis interrogetur, fidem ingenuè confiteri, ut Deo, & fidei gloriosum consulo, tacere, ut peccaminosum per se non damno.

19. Voluntas non potest efficere, ut assensus fidei in seipso sit magis firmus, quam mereatur pondus rationum ad assensum impellentium.

20. Hinc potest quis prudenter repudiare assensum, quem habebat supernaturalem.

21. Assensus fidei supernaturalis & utilis ad salutem stat cum noticia soium probabili revelationis; imò cum formidine, qua quis formidet, ne non sit locutus Deus.

22. Non nisi fides unius Dei necessaria videtur necessitate medii, non autem explicita Remuneratoris.

23. Fides latè dicta ex Testimonio Creaturarum, similivè motivo ad justificationem sufficit.

24. Vocare Deum in Testem mendacii levis non est tanta irreverentia, propter quam velit, aut possit damnare hominem.

25. Cum causa, licitum est jurare sine animo jurandi, si res sit levis, si gravis.

26. Si quis, vel solus, vel coram aliis, si interrogatus, si propria sponte, si recreationis causa, si quocumque alio fine, juret, se non fecisse aliquid, quod revera fecit, intelligendo intra se aliquid aliud, quod non fecit, vel aliam viam ab ea, in qua fecit, vel quodvis aliud additum verum, revera non mentitur, nec est perjurus.

27. Causa justa utendi his amphibologiis est, quoties id necessarium, aut utile est, ad salutem corporis, honorem, res familiares tuendas, vel ad quemlibet alium virtutis actum, ita ut veritatis occultatio censeatur tunc expediens, & studiosa.

14. It is lawful to desire the death of one's Father by an absolute desire, so that it be not desired for the Father's hurt ; but for his good that wishes it, that he may thereby obtain a good Inheritance.

15. It is lawful for a Son to rejoice for the Murder of his Father committed by himself, when he was drunk, for the great Riches which may come to him by Inheritance.

16. Faith does not seem to come within any special or absolute Precept.

17. It is enough to have one act of Faith in our whole life.

18. If one is examined by the Civil Power, I advise him to confess the Faith ingeniously, as a thing both for the glory of God and of the Faith ; but if he is silent, I do not condemn it as sinful of it self.

19. It is not in the power of the will, that the assent of Faith be more firm in it self, than the weight of the reasons which inforce it does require.

20. A man may prudently reject a supernatural assent which he had formerly.

21. An Assent of Faith that is supernatural and profitable to salvation, may consist with a probable knowledge of Revelation only: Yea, even with a fear by which one apprehends that God has not spoken it.

22. The Faith of one God seems only to be necessary by an indispensable necessity, but the explicit belief that God is a Rewarder, seems not necessary.

23. Faith in its large sense only from the Evidence of the Creation, or some such motive, is sufficient for Justification.

24. To call God a witness to a Lye in a light matter, is not so great an Irreverence, that he either will or can damn a man for it.

25. If a man have cause for it, whether it be small or great, he may lawfully swear without an intention of swearing.

26. A man either alone, or before others, may either when he is asked, or of his own accord, or for his diversion, or any other end, swear that he did not do a thing which he really did ; having a secret meaning, either of some other thing which he did not do, or of another way of doing it, or of any other truth which he adds to it ; in which case he is in truth neither a Liar, nor is he perjured.

27. A just cause of using those secret meanings, is as oft as it is necessary or profitable for the preservation of life, or honour, or saving ones goods, or for any other act of virtue ; so that the concealment of truth seems in that case expedient or desirable.

28. Qui mediante commendatione, vel munere ad Magistratum, vel Officium publicum promotus est, poterit cum restrictione mentali præstare juramentum, quod de mandato Regis à similibus solet exigi non habito respectu ad intentionem exigentis, quia non tenetur fateri crimen occultum.

29. Urgens metus gravis est causa iusta Sacramentorum administrationem simulandi.

30. Fas est viro honorato occidere inuasorem, qui nritur calumniam inferre, si aliter hæc ignominia vitari nequit; idem quoque dicendum, si quis impingat alapam, vel fuste percutiat, & post impactam alapam, vel ictum fustis fugiat.

31. Regulariter occidere possum furem pro conservatione unius aurei.

32. Non solum licitum est defendere defensione occisiva, quæ actu possidemus, sed etiam ad quæ jus inchoatum habemus, & quæ nos possessuros speramus.

33. Licitum est tam hæredi, quàm legatario contra injustè impedièntem, ne vel hæreditas adeatur, vel legata solvantur, se taliter defendere, sicut & jus habenti in Cathedram, vel Præbendam contra eorum possessionem injustè impedièntem.

34. Licet procurare abortum ante animationem foetus, ne Puella deprehensa gravida occidatur, aut infametur.

35. Videtur probabile omnem foetum, quamdiu in utero est, carere anima rationali, & tunc primùm incipere eandem habere, cum paritur; ac consequenter dicendum erit in nullo abortu homicidium committi.

36. Permissum est furari, non solum in extrema necessitate, sed etiam in gravi.

37. Famuli, & famulæ domesticæ possunt occultè heris suis furripere ad compensandam operam suam, quam majorem judicant salario, quod recipiunt.

38. Non tenetur quis sub pœna peccati mortalis restituere quod ablatum est per pauca furta, quantumcumque sit magna summa totalis.

39. Qui alium movet, aut inducit ad inferendum grave damnum tertio, non tenetur ad restitutionem istius damni illati.

40. Contractus *Mobatra* licitus est, etiam respectu ejusdem personæ, & cum contractu retrovenditionis præviè inito, cùm intentione lucri.

28. He that is promoted to a Magistracy, or Publick Office, either by the means of some recommendation or present, may with a mental reservation take the Oath which Kings usually require, not regarding the intention of him that exacts it, because he is not bound to confess a secret crime.

29. A pressing and great fear is a just cause of dissembling in the administration of the Sacraments.

30. It is lawful for a Person of Honour to kill a man that intends to calumniate him, if there is no other way to avoid that reproach. The same is also to be said, if one gives another a box in the Ear, or cudgels him, and runs away after such beating or cudgelling.

31. A man may regularly kill a Thief, that he may thereby save one Crown.

32. It is not only lawful to defend the things that we possess, by killing such as invade us, but likewise the things to which we have only a right begun, and which we hope to possess.

33. It is lawful to an Heir, or one to whom a Legacy is left, to defend himself against him that hinders him unjustly to enter on his Inheritance, or to receive his Legacy, by the same means that a Professor or Prebendary may use against such as hinder them from their possession.

34. It is lawful to procure an Abortion before the Conception is quickened, lest the Woman being discovered to be with Child, should be either killed or defamed.

35. It seems probable, that all Conceptions, as long as they are in the Womb, are without a reasonable Soul; and that they then begin to have one when they are first born, and by consequence there is no Murder committed in any Abortion.

36. It is lawful to steal, not only in extreme necessity, but in a heavy one.

37. Servants of either Sex may secretly steal from their Masters, for the value of their service, if it is greater than the Salary which they receive.

38. A man is not bound under the pain of mortal sin to restore that which he stole by many thefts, how great soever the sum total may be.

39. He that moves or persuades another to do a hurtful thing to a third person, is not bound to make up the damage which is thereby sustained.

40. The contract of Mohatra is lawful, though made with the same person, and with a reselling of the same thing, before agreed on, with a design of gain.

41. Since

41. Cùm numerata pecunia pretiosior sit numeranda, & nullus sit, qui non majoris faciat pecuniam præsentem, quàm futuram, potest creditor aliquid ultrà sortem à mutuario exigere, & eo titulo ab usura excusari.

42. Usura non est dum ultra sortem aliquid exigitur, tamquam ex benevolentio & gratitudine debitum, sed solum si exigatur tamquam ex iustitia debitum.

43. Quidni non nisi veniale sit, detrahentis auctoritatem magnam sibi noxiam, falso crimine elidere?

44. Probabile est non peccare mortaliter, qui imponit falsum crimen alicui, ut suam iustitiam, & honorem defendat. Et si hoc non sit probabile, vix ulla erit opinio probabilis in Theologia.

45. Dare temporale pro spirituali non est simonia, quando temporale non datur tanquàm pretium, sed dumtaxat tanquàm motivum conferendi, vel efficiendi spirituale, vel etiam quando temporale sit solum gratuita compensatio pro spirituali, aut è contra.

46. Et id quoque locum habet etiamsi temporale sit principale motivum dandi spirituale; imò etiam si sit finis ipsius rei spiritualis, sic ut illud pluris aestimetur, quàm res spiritualis.

47. Cum dixit Concilium Tridentinum eos alienis peccatis communicantes mortaliter peccare, qui nisi quos digniores, & Ecclesiæ magis utiles ipsi judicaverint ad Ecclesias promovent, Concilium vel primò videtur per hoc digniores non aliud significare velle, nisi dignitatem eligendorum sumpto comparativo pro positivo; vel secundò locutione minus propria ponit digniores, ut excludat indignos, non verò dignos; vel tandem loquitur tertio quando fit concursus.

48. Tam clarum videtur, fornicationem secundùm se nullam involvere malitiam, & solum esse malam, quia interdicta, ut contrarium omninò rationi dissonum videatur.

49. Molities jure naturæ prohibita non est. Unde si Deus eam non interdixisset, sæpè esset bona, & aliquando obligatoria sub mortali.

50. Copula cum conjugata, consentiente marito, non est adulterium; adeoque sufficit in confessione dicere, se esse fornicatum.

41. Since money laid down is more valuable than that which is only due, and all men value money that is present, more than that they look for, a Creditor may expect more than the stock from the borrower, and be thereby excused from being an Usurer.

42. It is not Usury, when somewhat beyond the stock is looked for, so it be not exacted as due by justice, but as due by benevolence and gratitude.

43. Why may it not be said that it is only a Venial sin in any to lessen the great authority of another, which is hurtful to himself, by charging him with some false crime.

44. It is probable that he does not sin mortally, who fastens a false crime on another, that he may defend his own justice and honour; and if this is not probable, there is scarce any Opinion probable in Divinity.

45. It is not Simony to give a temporal thing for the spiritual, when the temporal thing is not given as the price, but only as a motive for the bestowing or doing the spiritual thing; or when the temporal is only a gratuitous compensation for the spiritual, or the spiritual is a compensation for the temporal.

46. This does also take place, though the temporal thing be the principal Motive for bestowing the spiritual; nay though it be the very end of the spiritual thing, and be more highly esteemed than the spiritual.

47. Whereas the Council of Trent says, that they sin mortally, and participate in other mens sins, who do not promote to Churches those whom they judge more worthy, and more useful to the Church; that Council did thereby mean either by the more worthy, only that such as are promoted should be worthy, using the Comparative degree for the Positive; or by an Impriety of speech, the more worthy are mentioned, that persons unworthy may be excluded, but not such as are worthy; or Thirdly, they mean of a match of two, that then the more worthy be preferred.

48. It seems so clear that Fornication has no real evil in it self, but is only evil because it is forbidden, that the contrary Opinion is plainly against all reason.

49. Voluntary Pollution is not forbidden by the Law of Nature: So that if God had not forbidden it, it had been often good, and that to which men might be sometimes obliged under the pain of mortal sin.

50. It is not Adultery to lye with a married Woman, if her Husband gives consent; and it is enough in that case for a man to confess that he committed Fornication.

51. Famulus, qui submissis humeris scienter adjuvat herum suum ascendere per fenestras ad stuprandum virginem, & mul-
tories eidem subservit deferendo scalam, aperiendo januam, aut
quid simile co-operando, non peccat mortaliter, si id faciat metu
notabilis detrimenti, puta ne à Domino malè tractetur, ne torvis
oculis aspiciatur, ne domo expellatur.

52. Preceptum servandi festa non obligat sub mortali, seposi-
to scandalo, si absit contemptus.

53. Satisfacit præcepto Ecclesiæ de audiendo Sacro, qui duas
ejus partes, imò quatuor simul à diversis Celebrantibus audit.

54. Qui non potest recitare Matutinum & Laudes, potest
autem reliquas Horas, ad nihil tenerur, quia major pars trahit ad
se minorem.

55. Præcepto Communionis annuæ satisficit per sacrilegam Do-
mini manducationem.

56. Frequens Confessio, & Communio, etiam in his, qui gen-
tiliter vivunt, est nota prædestinationis.

57. Probabile est, sufficere attritionem naturalem, modò ho-
nestam.

58. Non tenemur Confessario interroganti fateri peccati ali-
cujus consuetudinem.

59. Licet Sacramentaliter absolvere dimidiatè tantum confessos,
ratione magni concursus Pœnitentium, qualis v. g. potest con-
tingere in die magnæ alicujus festivitatis, aut indulgentiæ.

60. Pœnitenti habenti consuetudinem peccandi contra legem
Dei, Naturæ, aut Ecclesiæ, etsi emendationis spes nulla appare-
at, nec est neganda, nec differenda, absolutio; dummodo ore
proferat, se dolere, & proponere emendationem.

61. Potest aliquando absolvi, qui in proxima occasione pec-
candi versatur, quam potest, & non vult omittere, quinimò di-
rectè, & ex proposito querit, aut ei se ingerit.

62. Proxima occasio peccandi non est fugienda, quandò cau-
sa aliqua utilis, aut honesta, non fugiendi occurrit.

63. Licitum est querere directè occasionem proximam pec-
candi pro bono spirituali, vel temporali nostro, vel proximi.

64. Absolutionis capax est homo quantumvis laboret ignoran-
tia Mysteriorum Fidei, & etiam si per negligentiam, etiam cul-
pabilem

51. A Servant who lets his Master rise upon his Shoulders to go in at a Window, knowing that his design is to defile a Virgin, and does serve him by bringing a Ladder, opening a door, or doing some such thing in concurrence with him, sins not mortally; if he does it for fear of notable prejudice, to wit, lest he be ill used by his Master, be looked at awry, or turned out of doors.

52. The Precept of observing Festivities, setting aside the scandal, does not oblige under the pain of mortal sin, provided that it is not out of contempt.

53. He satisfies the Precept of the Church for hearing Mass, that hears two, yea even four parts of it of several Priests that Celebrate.

54. He that cannot say his Mattins and Lauds, but can say the rest of his Hours, is bound to nothing; for the greater part draws the lesser with it.

55. A man may obey the Precept for Receiving the Sacrament once a year, by Sacrilegious Communicating.

56. Frequent Confession, and Communion, even in those that live as Heathens, is a mark of Predestination.

57. It is probable that a natural attrition, so it be honest, is sufficient.

58. We are not bound to confess the custom of any sin to a Confessor that asks it.

59. It is lawful to absolve one Sacramentally, that has made but a half Confession, when there is a great crowd of many Penitents; such as for instance, may happen on a great Festival day, or a time of Indulgence.

60. Absolution is neither to be denied nor delayed to a Penitent, that has a custom of sinning against a Law of God, of Nature, or the Church, even though there is no hope of his amendment, if he says he is sorry and purposes an amendment.

61. One may be sometimes absolved that continues in the nearest hazard of sinning, which he neither can nor will withdraw from, even though he does directly and on design seek it, and thrust himself in it.

62. The nearest hazard of sinning is not to be avoided, when a profitable or honest occasion of flying from it does not occur.

63. It is lawful to seek directly the nearest hazard of sinning, for the spiritual or temporal good either of our selves or of our Neighbours.

64. A man is capable of Absolution, though he lies under an ignorance of the Mysteries of Faith; and even though by a Negligence that

pabilem nesciat Myſterium Sanctiſſimæ Trinitatis, & Incarnationis Domini Noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.

65. Sufficit illa Myſteria ſemel credidiſſe.

QUicumque autem cujuſvis conditionis, ſtatus, & dignitatis illas, vel illarum aliquam conjunctim, vel diſiſim defende-rit, vel ediderit, vel de eis diſputativè, publicè, aut privatim tractaverit, vel prædicaverit, niſi forſan impugnando, ipſo facto incidat in excommunicationem latæ ſententiæ, à qua non poſſit (præterquam in articulo mortis) ab alio quacumque etiam dignitate fulgente, niſi pro tempore exiſtente Romano Pontifice, abſolvi.

Inſuper diſtrictè in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, & ſub interminatione Divini Judiciſii prohibet omnibus Chriſti fidelibus, cujuſcumque conditionis, dignitatis, & ſtatus etiam ſpeciali, & ſpecialiſſima nota dignis, ne prædictas opiniones, aut aliquam ipſarum ad praxim deducant.

Tandem, ut ab injurioſis contentionibus Doctores, ſeu Scholaſtici, aut alii quicumque impoſterum ſe abſtineant, & ut paci, & charitati conſulatur idem Sanctiſſimus in virtute Sanctæ Obedientiæ eis præcipit, ut tam in libris imprimendis, ac manuſcriptis, quàm in Theſibus, Diſputationibus, ac Prædicationibus caveant ab omni cenſura, & nota, necnon à quibuſcumque conviciis contra eas Propoſitiones, quæ adhuc inter Catholicos hinc inde controvertuntur, donec à Sancta Sede recognita ſuper iſſdem Propoſitionibus judicium proferatur.

is his own fault, he knows not the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity, and the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

65. It is sufficient that he once believed those Mysteries.

WHosoever of whatsoever condition, state, or dignity, shall defend or publish these or any of them, conjunctly or severally; or shall treat or preach of them by way of dispute, either publicly or privately, except it be to argue against them; he does thereby ipso facto incur an actual Excommunication lata sententia, from which he cannot be absolved (except in the hour of death) by any, how eminent soever their Dignity be, but only by the Pope for the time being.

Moreover, he strictly Prohibits in the virtue of Holy Obedience, and under the pains of the Judgments of God, all faithful Christians, of what condition, dignity, and state soever they be, though under some singular or most extraordinary Character, that they shall not reduce the foresaid Opinions, or any of them, into practice.

Finally, That all Doctors or Schoolmen, and all other Persons, do for the future abstain from all injurious Contentions: And our most Holy Father commands them in the virtue of Holy Obedience, that they study to maintain Peace and Charity; and that as well in their Printed and Written Books, as in their Theses, Disputes, or Sermons, they abstain from Censures, Nick-names, or Reproaches of all sorts, concerning those Propositions which are yet controverted on both sides among Catholics, till the Holy See having considered them, shall give Judgment about them.

FRANCISCUS RICCARDUS

Sanctæ Romanæ , & Universalis Inquisitionis
Notarius.

Loco † Sigilli.

ANno à Nativitate D. N. Jesu Christi millesimo
sexcentesimo septuagesimo nono, Indictione se-
cunda, die verò 4 mensis Martii, Pontificalis autem
Sanctiss. in Christo Patris & D. N. D. Innocentii Di-
vina Providentia Papæ XI. anno tertio, supradictum
Decretum, affixum & publicatum fuit ad Valuas Ba-
silicæ Principis Apostolorum, Cancellariæ Apostolicæ ac
in acie Campi Floræ, ac in aliis locis solitis, & con-
suetis Urbis, per me Franciscum Perinum, ejusdem
Sanctiss. D. N. Papæ & Sanctissimæ Inquisitionis
Cursorem.

F I N I S.

FRANCIS RICHARD

Notary to the General Inquisition of the Holy Roman Church.

IN the Year from the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1679, the Second Indiction, the 4th of the Month of *March*; the Third Year of the Pope-
dom of our most Holy Father *Innocent* by the Di-
vine Providence the XI. Pope. The foresaid De-
cree was offered and published at the Gates of the
Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles; and in the
Apostolical Chancery, and in the Field of *Flora*,
and in the other usual and customary places in the
City, by me *Francis Perin*, Messenger to our most
Holy Father the Pope, and to the most Holy In-
quisition.



The End.

THE
Conversion & Persecutions
O F
E V E C O H A N,

Now called

Elizabeth Verboon,

A Person of Quality of the Jewish RELIGION.

Who was Baptized the 10th of October, 1680.
At St. Martins in the Fields,

By the Right Reverend Father in God,

W I L L I A M,

Lord Bishop of St. ASAPH.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. D. for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1680.

THE

Convention of the

FREE CHURCH

of Scotland

held at Glasgow

in the year 1840

at the Free Church of Scotland, Glasgow

and the Free Church of Scotland, Glasgow

WILLIAM

BLACK

Printed by J. D. Black, Glasgow



THE PREFACE.

THe World has been so often deceived in many pretended Converts, who make a Trade of changing their Religion, that it is no wonder if Men are not easily persuaded of the sincerity of those who come over from one Religion to another; since it is certain the prepossession of Education and Custom is so strong, that such as turn to a New Religion, must either be led to it by a clear Conviction, which will shew it self in other signal Effects, or are guilty of great levity and fickleness of Mind, that disposes them too easily to change for changes sake; or do it upon a baser account, of working upon the Compassions of those, who being very Religious themselves, are apt to deal their Charity liberally to such as seem to follow the steps of Abraham, who being called to it, forsook his Kindred and Country to serve the true and living God.

But here is a Convert that is indeed a Disciple of the Cross, and has, in all the steps she made towards her Change, been oft in danger of her Life, and has suffered much from her Mother and Kindred: Whose Persecutions ceased not after she had taken sanctuary in this Country, where she might reasonably have thought, that either
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THE PREFACE.

the Jews durst not presume to have pursued her any longer; or if they would have attempted it, could not have found Instruments to have served their wicked Designs. But even here, as they found out cursed Tools to have spirited her away; so when they failed; they betook themselves to all the Arts of Villany, in which they are so well practised: and hoping that nothing could resist their Wealth, of which they resolved to be prodigal upon this Occasion, they carried their Designs so far, that she was neglected by some, and hardly used by others, from whom a greater Zeal to the Christian Religion ought to have been expected.

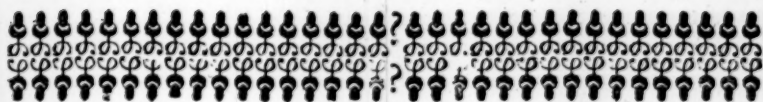
When she seemed thus abandoned by many Christians, the Jews then hoped to have prevailed on her weakness and fears, and her Mother writ tenderly to her, to persuade her to return home again: But God left her not wholly destitute, for as he directed her to lodge in a House, where she met with all the care and tenderness she could have expected from her nearest Relations; so she was found out by that eminent and learned Convert Charles du Veil, Doctor of Divinity; who being born and bred a Jew, was first converted to the Christian Religion in France; but both he, and his most learned Brother, seeing and detesting the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, forsook the great Advantages they had, and might have expected there, and came hither, and joined themselves to our Church. This Dr. Du Veil, remembring that word of our Saviour to St. Peter, When thou art converted, strengthen the Brethren, made it his Business both to instruct and comfort her, and to procure the charitable Supplies and Assurances of others to her.

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THE PREFACE.

He applied himself chiefly to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, as the Churchman most concerned in it, since this Convert had taken shelter in the Parish of St. Martins, of which he was then Vicar: and he followed her Concerns with that Zeal that the Occasion required. And the Lord Mayor of London being informed by him of the whole Business, has taken it into his care, with that sincere and hearty Affection which becomes a Christian, and so great a Magistrate; and is contriving the most effectual means possible, not only to do her right against her Oppressors, but also to have her possessed of a fair Estate that belongs to her in Holland: The hazard of losing which Estate, together with both Liberty and Life, she run with chearfulness, that she might embrace the Christian Religion. The particular account of so remarkable a Conversion, and those things which happened upon it, I hope will be no unacceptable entertainment to the Reader; and therefore having gathered the Passages and Steps of it together, upon very good Authority, I now offer them to the World.

THE



T H E

Conversion & Persecution

O F

ELIZABETH VERBOON.

E *Lizabeth Verboon* carries her Christen'd Name from the Baptismal Font, and her Surname from her Husband Mr. *Michael Verboon*, but her Name formerly was *Eve Cohan*: Her Father was *Abraham Cohan*, a Man of great Wealth and Credit, not only among the Jews in *Holland*, but among the *Dutch*: So that as *Michael Levi*, the Solicitor for the Jews, informed the Lord Mayor, he was chief Governor of the Dutch Plantations in *Brafile*; and was then believed worth 100000 *l. Sterling*, but lost a great deal of it when the *Portugueses* beat the Dutch out of *Brafile*; yet, he said, that to his knowledge he died worth 20000 *l.* or upward: He died about ten Years agoe, when this his Daughter was not twelve Years Old; who has lived ever since under her Mothers

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care:



care : Her Name was *Rebekah*, alias *Elizabeth* : She was Daughter to one *Pallacius*, who as this Convert had been told, was sent Ambassador from the States, and was one of the Professors in the University of *Leyden*. *Levi* knew this better than she did, and told the Lord Mayor that he was sent Ambassador, both to the Emperor of *Morocco*, and to the King of *Poland* ; what he professed in *Leyden* we do not yet know : It may be supposed, from his Negotiations, that he was a Civilian. He was a Jew in his heart, but gave himself out for a Christian : So that his Daughter, and other Children, as we are informed, were all Baptized

This *Eve Cohan* lived with her Mother at *Delft*, where one Mr. *Shol*, that teaches Musick, being imployed to teach her, used frequently to discourse with her of the Christian Religion : and carried her sometimes to Church, on pretence to hear the Organs play ; where she staid, not only while the Psalms were singing, but all the while, both of the Sermon and Prayers : And a New Testament being secretly conveyed to her, she took great delight in reading in it. She says, That which first made Impression on her, was, that their Nation was now dispersed over the World, no more under the Conduct of any Prophet : Nor had they any of those visible Marks of the Favour and Protection of God, which their Ancestors enjoyed in those Ages in which the Books of the Old Testament were written. So that they seemed cast off by God, and under these Curses threatned by *Moses* and

and the Prophets : and yet they kept the Laws of *Moses* better than ever, and were more careful than their Fathers had been to abstain from Idolatry. When she read the Account of our Saviour's Passion, she felt her self mightily affected with that passage of *Judas's* confessing that he had betrayed Innocent Blood ; and his being so transported with the horror of it, that he went and hanged himself.

This did first open her eyes, about two Years agoe, and from that time she was ever since disposed to become a Christian. But it coming some way to her Mothers knowledg, as she discharged the Musick-master, so she treated her very severely, and shut her up as a Prisoner near six months : and when gentler Severities were ineffectual, she threatned to poison her if she changed her Religion. So that once, for eight days together, she durst eat nothing that they gave her, till she saw others taste of it before her. She was oft beaten by her Mother, and not suffered to come to the Door, or look out at those Windows that opened to the Street, lest being in a Christian Country, she might have discovered her Designs to such as would have assisted her in bringing them to perfection. But that which confirmed her in the belief of Christianity, was, what she read of the Resurrection of our Saviour, of which he had given assurance to his Followers before his Sufferings ; this did so effectually convince her, that He was her onely Saviour and Redeemer, that she called often on him for his assistance

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and direction, and resolved to dedicate her self to his Service.

While she was under those Apprehensions and Fears, he that is now her Husband, Mr. *Michael Verboon*, then served her Eldest Brother, *Jacob Cohan*; he is descended of honest Parents, though but of a mean condition: He had been entertained by one of the Admiralty of *Utrecht*, as his Servant for three Years. After that he served the *Heer Waerkendam* (one of the States General, who was sent Ambassador into *Denmark*) other three Years; and when he left his Service, he had a Certificate of his Faithful Service, signed by his Lady, himself being then from home, bearing date the third day of *May*, 1679. From thence he went to serve *Jacob Cohan*, and staid with him nine months, and had from him a Certificate of his faithful Service, two days after he left him.

There has been very great enquiry made concerning him in *Holland*, and all People there give a good Character of him. He being in the same House with her, addressed himself to her as a Suitor for Marriage, which she for some months rejected, but at last gave him some encouragement, though no promise nor assurance; and indeed intended then no more, but to make use of his kindness to her, so far as to be conveyed, by his means, into some place of safety, where she might without danger profess her self a Christian. Upon this he left her Brother's Service, and resolved to go for some time into *France*, and went on his way as far as *Brussels*.
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She was daily in fear of her Life, and the rather, because her Mother had said to her, that Mr. *Honstaier*, a Minister at *Delft*, had been with her to demand her from her, because he understood she had an inclination to turn Christian. This we have learnt from *Holland* was not true, but only pretended by her Mother : and it is probable was said by her, that she might by that Artifice draw from her Daughter the discovery of a correspondence she suspected might be between the Minister and her. These things made her desirous to be out of their hands ; so having contrived the way of her escape, she got out of her Mothers House in the end of *May* ; and knowing by a Letter that Mr. *Verboon* wrote to her, that he was still at *Brussels*, she went thither. But being more concerned to prelerve her Life, and to save her Soul, then careful how to live, she did not so much as carry away the Jewels that were in her own possession : so far was she from robbing her Mother, or giving the rest of the Family any ground to lay those Actions on her, by which they hoped to have ruined her : though a parcel of very fair Jewels, that were her Mothers, lay so open to her very Eye, that she could easily have carried them away if she had designed it.

When she saw that the Christians at *Brussels* worshipped Images, and hearing that the Christians in *France* were generally guilty of the same Idolatry ; she resolved rather to come into *England*, and be Baptized in a Christian Church, that was not defiled with such Abominations :
and

and Mr. *Verboon* having been bred a Protestant, and making her understand the difference between the two Churches, she chose to join her self to a Protestant Church. So they went to *Newport*, and from thence came to *England*, in *July*, and took Lodgings in Mr. *Peter Lavignes* House, a French Taylor in *Bedford-bury*. She carried her self there very decently and vertuously; the People of the House knew that she went oft to Prayers: Mr. *Verboon* and she lived like Brother and Sister together; sometimes they went to the Dutch Church in *London*. The mean while she went to the Countess of *Arlington*, to desire her to help her to a Service; but that good Lady knew not how to recommend her, till she had a farther account of her from other hands.

On the 27th of *July*, *Moses Cohan*, her youngest Brother, and *Samuel Vandersee* her Cousen German, to whom, as it is said, her Mother intended to have married her, found her out, and took Lodgings in the same House. This made Mr. *Verboon* more pressing to have her marry him, fearing they might, either by force or perswasion, prevail with her to return.

So on the 29th of *July*, they went out to *Knightsbridg*, with two Witnesses, and were married there, according to the form of the Church of *England*. *Levi* was not ashamed to say, before the Lord Mayor, that she was within six weeks of her time; yet she having been now ten weeks married, appears not to have been with Child till after her Marriage, of which she has since miscarried

ried by fright, as shall be told afterwards. And her Husband with a solemn Oath declared to Bishop *Lloyd*, that she kept him at a due distance ever till they were married.

Her Brother brought her a Letter from her Mother, in which she charges her with no dishonest or unhandsome thing, but with many fair Offers and Promises, persuades her to abandon *Verboon*, and return home again.

Vandersee did, by many impious Blasphemies against the Person of our Blessed Saviour, endeavour to divert her from her Resolution of becoming a Christian.

But seeing all these ways were ineffectual, they resolved to betake themselves to more desperate and mischievous ones. And for this end they consulted with *Michael Levi*, the formerly mentioned Solicitor for the Jews; who laid the Train artificially enough to have spirited her away. He came often to the House where they were lodged, and dealt with *Mistress Lavigney* to help him to speak with *Mistress Verboon*; he offered her a Present, and made her many promises of large Rewards, both of Gold and Silver, if she would persuade her to go back to her Mother: But as *Mistress Verboon* could not see him, so *Mistress Lavigney* worthily rejected all his Offers, though he came four times to her,
hoping

hoping, by such Importunities and Bribes, to overcome her at last. They intended first to have arrested Mr. *Verboon*, hoping if he were once put out of the way, they might deal with his Wife more effectually: but when the Bailiffs were brought about the House, he was, by his Landladies care, conveyed out at the Window. It is plain, they have no just ground of any Action against him, for two days after he left her Brother's House, he had a discharge of his Service under his Hand and Seal, bearing date the 17th of May, 1680.

When those two Jews had been five weeks in the same House with her, and perceived all the ways of Persuasion and Bribery were unsuccessful, they then betook themselves to other Courses, in which they hoped they should succeed.

Michael Levi found out two fit Tools for their purpose, one *Holland* a *Middlesex* Bailiff, and one *Hammond* a Serjeant, belonging to the Poultry-Counter; the former of these came sometimes into the House where they lodged, as a Porter, carrying Jewish Meat to *Cohan* and *Vandersee*; by these means he was not suspected, and so found an opportunity to execute a Warrant upon Master *Verboon*, under the name of *Eve Cohan*, on the first of September, for forty pound, at the Suit of her Mother. There was Bail presently offered, by
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the procurement of the Landlord and his Wife : The Bailiff seemed willing to accept it, but *Hammond* had learned his Lesson better ; and pretended he must needs carry her to the Under-Sheriffs Office in *Hatton-Garden*, and so hurried her into a Coach, into which *Hammond* went with him : but Mistris *Lavigne* thrust her self also in with them to see what should be done with Mistris *Verbeon* : and those who offered to bail her, followed them to the Sheriffs Office.

All the while that this was doing, *Levi*, the principal Contriver, was standing at some distance, to see the issue of the Plot he had so skilfully laid, and carried himself, as if he had known nothing of it, but asked one, for what was that disturbance ? the Woman he spake to, perceiving he was a Jew, treated him with the Indignation that such a Provocation seemed almost to justify ; and he fearing some violent effects of it, ran away. But *Holland* the Bailiff, instead of carrying his Prisoner to the Sheriffs Office, where those that went to be Bail, staid some hours in vain expecting them, ordered the Coachman to drive within the Liberties of *London*, and then discharged her of the Arrest he had her under, and immediately *Hammond* took out his Mace, and arrested her for 2000 l. at her Mothers Suit, and so carried her into *London*.

It was in vain to tell them, that she being married, and under Covert-barr, was liable to no Arrest for Debts; for though the Certificate of the Marriage was shewed them, they who had other Instructions from *Levi*, resolved to finish the Project he had laid: which, as *Hammond* then declared, was for carrying her away into *Holland*. And *Levi* confessed afterward, before the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, that he had employed *Hammond* to Arrest her. When the Coachman had driven to the Rose Tavern near the Poultry Counter, *Hammond* had a mind to make *Mistress Verboon* to go up two pair of Stairs; but she was in such a fright, and trembled so, that she sat down in the first Floor; and there *Mistress Lavigne* began to open the Business to some Company that was in the Room: but *Hammond*, in a great rage, called the Drawer, and made him drag her out of the Room; and then going up one pair of Stairs higher, he went about to persuade her to be contented and go home in quiet, for, said he, *Mistress Verboon* should not go to Prison, but lodge in his House, where she should be well used: and told her, that *Levi* had employed him in this Business, who never undertook any Affair in which he did not succeed.

But finding she still persisted in her resolution of assisting of *Mistress Verboon*, and of bringing some

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to Bail her, he threatned her that she should never be paid what was owing her, and that she and her Husband both, should come into great trouble and danger, by meddling further in it ; but if she would make no more noise, she should not only be paid, but well rewarded.

All these had no effect on her, so a Person she had sent for coming to them, he forced *Hammond* to carry her to the Counter ; for they knew well the design of carrying her to the Serjeants House, was only that she might be conveyed away more secretly.

She being lodged in the Prison, Master *Lavigne* fearing that the Jews might have taken her out of Prison, set some to keep constant watch before the Counter Gate ; and after two days entred an Action of 500 *l.* against her, that so she might not come out without his knowledg ; and lest the Jews should have brought some to have bailed her out, that so they might get her into their Power ; he continued his Watch there [employing some, on whom he knew their Bribes would have no influence] several Nights before the Counter Gate. There was need of all this Caution, when the Jews were so cruelly set on the poor Womans destruction ; and had found out such fit Instruments

for their ends. She knew what she was to expect if she fell in their hands, for *Vandersee* had told her, That if she proved with Child in their hands, she should see it when delivered of it, but never more : but she had reason to look for further Effects of their enraged Cruelty, if they had her once in their Power. And that those, whose Ancestors in Unbelief, had with so bloody a Malice crucified our Blessed Saviour, would have spared no invention of Mischief, to execute their Revenge on one, that was now resolved to believe in Him.

But so zealous was *Hammond* to serve the Jews in this Plot, that seeing *Mistris Lavigne* was like to raise a great stir about it, and that neither Promises, nor Threatnings, nor Violence, could work on her ; for he found the calling of her *Witch*, *Bawd*, and such other base Names, and the beating her, and pulling her by the Hair of the Head, could not deliver him from her Importunities ; he thereupon contrived another way to frighten her, or to have her torn in pieces by the People.

It is probable that *Levi* contrived this also, for both he and the other Jews came oft and drank with *Hammond* at the *Rose Tavern* : but whosoever contrived it, this way *Hammond* took ; The
next

next time he saw her, he cried out, *A Papist Bitch, a harbourer of Jesuits*; though it is notoriously known, that both she and her Husband have been always good Protestants: with this Out-cry he brought many together; who if her Sister had not been there and brought some Friends to rescue her out of their Hands, had very probably done her much mischief.

But the poor Prisoner, who now seemed in a forlorn state, was not forsaken of him, to whose Service she was resolved to dedicate her self. *Mistris Lavigne* had brought *Dr. du Veil* to her while she lay at her House, as the fittest Person to instruct her, having been himself of that Religion. He waited on her every day during her Imprisonment, and comforted her much in her Afflictions: for these were the Pledges of her being to Reign with Christ, since she now suffered for him. He took care also of providing such Supplies as her Necessities called for.

And above all the rest of the good Offices he did her, he acquainted the Lord Bishop of *St. Asaph* with the Matter, in whose Parish this Prisoner was lodged, when she was so violently and fraudulently carried out of it; He had been out of Town when she was taken, but coming to it
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the next day, he set about it with all that diligence and zeal which the occasion required.

But now the Jews finding their Prisoner was under such a Protection, betook themselves to more Artificial Methods; and knowing that there was no ground, neither for the Action of 40 nor of 2000 *l.* let these fall the next Court day, and brought two new Actions, one of 500 *l.* at the Suit of *Vandersee*, and the other of 200 *l.* for *Trover* and Provision at her Mothers Suit; and they entertained my Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs* his Son to be their Counsel.

A Reverend Divine had informed my Lord Chief Justice of the Affair, who ordered a hearing of the Business before himself at his House, on the 10th of September: where because Bishop *Lloyd* could not then attend, he sent Mr. *Tissar* to appear for Mistris *Verboon*. When they came thither, *Levi* and *Vandersee*, with *Hammond*, being on the one side, were called up Stairs, for what end is not known: but after a little stay they came down, and soon after my Lord Chief Justice came out, and said, he was in haste, and must go to *White-Hall*, and so could not hear it: but he very mildly said, "He saw the thing was a Trick, and that "*Hammond* had been abused; but he bad him go "from him, to the Judg of the Sheriffs Court, and
"tell

“tell him, he perceived it was a Cheat. This was all could be obtained for him. So the poor Christian Complainants went away, as much cast down, as the Jews were lifted up with this great Success.

On the 7th of September, the Trial for *Vander-see*'s pretended Debt was brought into the Sheriffs Court, where Mistris *Verboon*'s Attorney, Mr. *Croß* of *Woodstreet*; though he knew of her Marriage, yet pleaded *non Assumpsit*. So the Witnesses were ordered to be summoned to the next Court Day; which was the 9th, and then the Trial was put off till Saturday. Then the Jews had obtained a *Levetur* for removing it to the Lord Mayor's Court, for a further delay: but the Lord Mayor being informed rightly of the Matter, by that worthy Gentleman Mr. *Crisp*, the Common Serjeant, presently signed a *Remandetur*, by which the Business was turned back to the Sheriffs Court; for the Jews had such a good acceptance with the Lord Chief Justice, that they hoped now to have wearied the poor Prisoner out with Vexatious Suits and Delays.

The Common Serjeant did also most worthily Bail her, on the 11th of September: So being at liberty, she resolved to delay her Profession of the
Christian

Christian Religion no longer, having been now as it were initiated into it by the Cross which she had born so long.

Yet the Bishop of St. *Asaph* resolved to delay it till he got a return to a Letter he wrote to the Minister of the English Congregation at the *Hague*, desiring him and Mr. *Swanwick* (a Learned Advocate there, with whom he had made an Acquaintance, when he waited on her Highness the Princess of *Orange* into *Holland*) to inform themselves of as many Particulars as they could learn concerning Mistress *Verboon* and her Husband : and having received a long and full Answer from the Minister to whom he wrote, he perceived it had been known in *Delft*, by the means of the Musick-master, that this Convert was enclined to be a Christian ; that she had been sometimes at Church to hear Sermons ; that she used often to read the *New Testament* ; and that her Mother had treated her barbarously ; but the Ministers had not demanded her, as her Mother had said to her.

So that was a piece of the Mothers Craft, to fish out of her Daughter what Correspondence there might have been between them and her : and for Mr. *Verboon*, they had a good Character given of him by all that knew him ; only the angry Mother accused him of some ill things ; but the discharge

charge of his Service two days after he left the Houſe, ſhews theſe were all Calumnies. And in a word, the Biſhop found that every thing that Miſtris *Verboon* had told him, proved to be true : So having uſed this Caution, which the many Cheats of pretended Converts had made more neceſſary, he reſolved to Baptiſe her into the Chriſtian Religion ; and left the particular care of inſtructing her on Dr. *du Veil*, who had of his own accord travelled much in it, and had followed all her Concerns with a very tender Care and aſſiduous Zeal.

But though ſhe was bailed out of Priſon, yet ſhe was not delivered from the Perſecutions of her Family. They knew well ſhe had ſtollen nothing from her Mother, and that ſhe owed her nothing.

On the contrary, her Mother owes her her Portion, which by *Levy's* own account, will riſe to above 2500 *l.* And he alſo ſaid, That her Mother had offered her to him with 3000 *l.* Portion in preſent, and more after her own Death.

Vanderſee, when he was before my Lord Chief Juſtice, pretended, that all he did was on the Mothers Account, and that Miſtris *Verboon* was indebted ſo much to her in Mony. But now in the Sheriffs Court, *Vanderſee* ſued for a Debt pretended

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to be due to himself. Her Marriage was proved in Court, by the Oath of the Minister, the Clark, and two Witnesses; but all that went for nothing, the Attorney having made another Plea. But then for the pretended Debt, no Evidence was brought, but her Brother *Moses*; and he could speak no English, but as *Smith* his Interpreter swore: he said, upon his Oath, that he saw *Vandersee* lend her four Duccatoons at Mr. *Lavigne's* House, which comes to about two and twenty Shillings English Mony: So now all the Actions of 40, 2000, 500, and 200 *l.* upon which they had so long vexed and imprisoned her, dwindled into this small Debt; which the Jews knew, if it had been due, they could have had it any time for the asking. But so impartially did the Jury proceed in this Verdict, that upon this single Evidence, and he manifestly a Party in the Conspiracy, and swearing on an English Bible, which they count a prophane Book, and on the back side of it too, which *Dr. du Veil* told them was no Oath by the Jews Doctrine; yet upon this Evidence they cast *Mistris Verboon*; so that after all other Rigours, Costs of the Suit were to come on her, according to our Law; which the Judg of the Court set at 40 *s.*

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From all this it is apparent, that the whole Business was a Conspiracy of the Jews, of which *Levi* was the chief Contriver, and *Hammond* the main Instrument, though the Lord Chief Justice was so favourable to him, as to say, He was abused in that matter, and drawn into it. Both of these expressed their Joy, not without some transport, when the Jury gave their Verdict. *Levi* said, He would give 500 *l.* on condition she had not been bailed: *Hammond* said to those who had depended much on the Bishop of *St. Asaph's* Assistance, *Where is your Lord now?*

Mr. Verboon was advised to Arrest *Vandersee* for the false Imprisonment of his Wife; and on the 4th of September he Arrested him in an Action of 200 *l.* which was not out of reason; but very modest for one that had suffered so many Arrests for such great Sums, and all for nothing: but *Levi* soon bailed him; and so prevalent were the Arts and Presents of the Jews, that it was entred in the Books but 20 *l.* So that whether they are Plaintiffs or Complainants, they are resolved to shew their skill; and perhaps have a secret Pleasure to let the World see how much their Practices can work on those who are called Christians; even in a Matter wherein the honour of Jesus Christ is so much concerned.

But the Malice of the *Jews* stopt not her, for perceiving that Mistris *Verboon* vvas by her Marriage covered from all their Suits, they resolved on another vway, vvhich looks like a Design to destroy her.

Levi had said before my Lord Mayor, that she vvas vvithin two months of her time, and therefore he could not but believe she vvas vvith Child, and very capable of being frighted into Miscarriage.

But it vvas a sure effect of their Revenge on her Husband, against vvhom *Vandersee* had expressed so much malice, that he hath often said he vvas resolved to kill him, though he should be hanged for it. So on the second of *October*, Mr. *Verboon* vvas Arrested in an Action of 200 *l.* and it appears that the Bailiffs vv ere again instructed to behave themselves vvith more than ordinary rudeness: one of them vvas *Benedict Helm*; there vv ere others vv hose Names are not known. They came at Dinner-time, vvhen they might expect to find them at Dinner together: they seized upon him at Table, and dragged him forth vvith their utmost violence; vv hich vvhen Mistris *Lavigne* saw, and vvithal took notice of a Coach at the Door, she immediately reflected on the Trick that they had put on them before: and therefore ran to him, and clasped her

Arms

Arms about his Waffe, to keep him from being thrust into the Coach. The Bailiffs, to be revenged on her, beat and bruised her Head, Brest, and Body, vvith the greatest fury; of vvhich the marks appear yet on her: Her Head vvvas broke in three places, and she vvvas thereby, as the Chyrurgeon has certified under his hand, in great hazard of her Life: yet she clogged them so, that they could not get their Prisoner into the Coach; and the People beginning to come about them, they were fain to thrust him into an Alehouse near at hand: from whence she presently sent an Advertisement to the Bishop of *St. Asaph*. Upon his coming, and offering the Bailiffs Bail, they saw it in vain to attempt any thing farther, and so accepted the Bail. But though Mrs. *Lavigne* was forced to keep her Bed some time, by the Wounds and Bruises she received, yet this had a more fatal effect on poor Mistris *Verboon*; who when she saw the Bailiffs draging her Husband, fell presently in a swoon; and being then young with Child, was so disordered by the fright, that she has not yet recovered it; but on the 9th day after she miscarried. The Midwife, and others that were with her, are ready to declare upon Oath, that the Conception had been some days dead, and wasted within her; and that it was not above eight or nine weeks old, though she had been

been eleven weeks married. So false was that Imputation which *Levi* cast on her before the Lord Mayor, that she was within two months of her time. How far the Law will charge this on the Bailiffs, or on the Jews that set them on to it, I do not know; but sure I am, they are in a high degree guilty of Murder before God. When all these Effects of the Malice and Industry of the Jews had appeared so evidently, the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, who had before acquainted the Lord Mayor with the Business, having received the Answer formerly mentioned from *Holland*, did then, with more assurance, desire his assistance in this Affair, in which the Honour of the Christian Religion, and of the English Nation, was so much concerned.

The Lord Mayor did thereupon send for *Levi*, to hear what he could say for the defence of himself, and of his Countrymen: who made some pretended excuses for himself, as if he had not meddled in the Matter at all; but he did not deny that he believed the Design of the Jews was to force Mrs. *Verboon* to go back to her Mother, who he acknowledged was a severe and cruel Woman. By his own Story, the Lord Mayor perceived clearly what a malicious Contrivance this whole prosecution of Mrs. *Verboon* and her Husband had been; and told *Levi*, very roundly, that they should soon see

see what a thing they had done, who finding shelter in a Christian Country, and being so obnoxious to the Law as they all were, durst offer such an Affront to the Religion, and to the Nation, as thus to endeavour to Spirit away one, to whose charge they could lay nothing, but her turning Christian. This he assured him should be carried so far, as to reach their whole Congregation. There was no way to redeem them from trouble, but for them to bring over her Portion from her Mother, and to satisfy her to the full for the Costs and Trouble to which they had put her : And if they did not do that, he assured him, he would carry the Matter as far as the Law would allow him against their whole Sect : and though his time was near an end, yet he knew his Successour would pursue it with the same vigour, with which he was resolved to begin. He gave also order to some to bring him an Extract of the Laws in force against the Jews. And for *Hammond*, no doubt he will be made an Example for his impious Conspiracy with the Enemies of Christ, against one for turning to him, which was the only root of all the malice they bore her.

This Matter being thus put in a fair way, the Bishop resolved to receive her into the Christian Church by Baptism. He gave the Right Honourable, Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, one of his Majesty's
principal

principal Secretaries of State, an account of all the steps of this Affair; who as he has expressed in his whole Life a true & sincere love to the Christian Religion; to which he has been an Ornament indeed, by the gravity and strictness of his deportment, in all those high Employments in which he has behaved himself with so much Honour; So he received the Bishop's Information of this Conversion and Persecution, with that sense which might have been expected from so good and so great a Man. He offered, not only all the assistance which he could give her in his Office, or at the Council-Board, when the Matter should be brought thither; but concerned himself so particularly in it, as to be her Susceptor in Baptism; and those two most Religious and Devout Ladies, the Countesses of *Thanet* and *Clarendon* very readily took upon themselves to be her Godmothers. So on the 10th of *October*, after Evening Prayers, she was Baptized in *St. Martins* Church in the Fields. She has since said, that she felt an unusual Joy in her Mind, when she was initiated to Christianity, having now performed vvhat she had long purposed and vvished to do: and though she saw a Jew in the Church, looking and laughing at her in the very time, this did not a vvhit disorder her. But as it may be supposed, her inward and vehement desire of *Baptism* might have

have supported her till that was over ; so the Night after it, those Frights and Disorders she had been put in formerly, chiefly that last vvhen her Husband vvvas Arrested, brought pains on her, vvwhich ended in an Abortion, as vvvas formerly told.

This Recital was thought necessary, to let the Nation see what a sort of People these Jews are, whom we harbour so kindly among us ; who, as they yet lie under the guilt of that Innocent Blood, which their Fathers wished might rest on them and their Children : so continue not only in their obstinate Infidelity, but do still thirst after the Blood of such of their Nation as believe in Him whom their Fathers Crucified ; and whom they in derision called often to this Convert that *hanged Man*. He was indeed hanged on a Tree by the Jews of his Time, but they themselves knew then that He rose from the Dead, and so triumphed over all that Hell or hellish Men had contrived : and tho they hired the Souldiers, that first saw Him rising out of the Grave, to suppress so dreadful a Truth, as his Resurrection must needs have been to them, yet it broke out with such undeniable Evidence, that ~~not~~^{not} a few of those who had procured his Death, came afterwards to believe in Him : nor could they, by the Imprisonments, Whippings, Stonings, and all the other Effects of their enraged Cruelty, by which those first Converts to Christianity suffered so much, fright
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them from publishing those things which they had seen and heard. One of whom, as he was among the most violent Persecutors of that way, so he was one of the most learned and zealous of their Religion; was by such an irresistible force from Heaven both convinced and converted, so that he became from the Chief of Sinners, the Chief of the Apostles of Christ.

According to the sage Advice of *Gamaliel*, the Event clearly proved that this Doctrine was of God: for as of old, *Dagon's* falling before the Ark of God, was a proof of the weakness of the Idol, and of the Majesty of the living God, whose Simbole the Ark was; So their being driven out of their Land, their Temple being destroyed, by which all those Expiations, which that Covenant afforded for Sin, can no longer be had; shew that the Covenant with their Fathers is dissolved, their Ceremonies are ineffectual, and the whole *Mosaical* Religion is determined long agoe. *Josephus*, the last of their Writers, to whom any credit is due in Matters of History, has given a great, though a short testimony to these things; and though he has not enlarged on our Saviour, as he has done either on *St. John the Baptist*, or *St. James the Lesser*, the Brother of our Lord, as he is commonly called, knowing how displeasing it would be to his Countrymen to dwell much on such a Subject; yet he was too faithful

faithful a Writer, to have quite passed over a Matter of such great consequence.

I do not design to inflame any to Rage or Fury against the Jews, nor do I desire to have any force put upon their Consciences: *For the Wrath of Man worketh not out the Righteousness of God*; but I have the rather written this, to provoke all, that may be concerned in the Sequel of this Affair, to proceed in it as becomes truly zealous Christians, and to redeem the Nation from the Infamy that so base a Conspiracy (if not severely punished) will bring on it; that so those Enemies of Christ, if they are suffered to live among us, yet may not again dare to adventure on such Practices, against those who forsake their blind Superstition, and come to believe in the only Saviour of the World: And that those who are called Christians, may by the signal punishment of those Instruments of Wickedness, whom they found among us, be so terrified, that they may no more, with *Judas*, for a little Mony, betray a Member of Christ, to be Crucified by them.



F I N I S.

Novis 23. die Decembris, 1680.

ORDERED,

That the Thanks of this H O U S E be given to Dr. *Burnet*, for his Sermon Yesterday preached before this H O U S E; and also for his Book Entituled, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*. And that Dr. *Burnet* be desired to print his said Sermon.

Will. Goldesbrough,

Cler' Dom' Com'.

A
SERMON

Preached on the
FAST-DAY,

Decemb. 22. 1680.

At St. Margarets Westminster,

Before the Honourable
House of COMMONS.

BY
GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. D. for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and
Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1681.



~~see 520.44~~

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Rev. 3. 2, 3.

I have not found thy Works perfect before God. Remember therefore how thou hast received, and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a Thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

THere is nothing in which Men of all Religions do so constantly agree, as in the Duties we are now about : so that it may be justly called *The Voice and Law of Nature*, which directs all people, when in great Straits, or under great Fears, to call on that God whom they serve, to implore his Pity, and pray for his Assistance. I need not tell you how all *Heathen Nations* do it : the *Jews* practise it : *Christians* of every Perswasion have upon all great Occasions, and in all Ages, set about it solemnly. Some, with the Pageantry of *Heathenish* Processions ; and others, with the simplicity that becomes their Profession, as We do this day.

When the Ship in which *Jonas* endeavoured to have fled from the Discharge of an uneasy Commission which God had given him, was driven in a Storm, and brought to great Extremities, every *Man called upon his God* : only the guilty Person, whose God could only hear and help them, *lay fast asleep*. I need not enlarge

Jona 1. 5.

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on the too visible Occasions of our Calling on God at this time : a sadness that is spread over the Faces, and fills the Hearts of all Men ; the present Distractions We are under, and the greater Mischiefs of which We are afraid, speak aloud, and need not be further described : so that all good Men had in their secret Mourning, and in their Wishes for a Publick Humiliation of the whole Nation, anticipated the Address of this *Honourable Assembly*. It is well that We pay this visible Homage to Religion and its blessed Author. In this Storm We have but one God to fly to, and one Lord and Mediator, by whom We may Address to him : If the guilty Persons will sleep on still, or do worse, continue Sinning while we are Fasting and Mourning ; yet if We *Cry mightily to God*, We may reasonably hope that He will ease Us of that load of our Sins, which only can, and certainly will sink Us, if it still hang on Us. When We consider Our present ill Condition, and alas ! perhaps this is but the beginning of Our Sorrows ; and reflect on the Signal Blessings We have received from God, and that We still retain that holy Religion which was revealed from Heaven by Jesus Christ, *The great High Priest of our Profession*, We cannot be long to seek for the true Causes of all those Evils which We either feel or fear. Truth is still the same, and of the same Value with the Author of it ; and the God of Truth changes not. What has then separated between God and Us ? and what hath raised that thick Cloud that seems to be set over Us, and is ready to discharge it self in *Fire Brimstone, and a horrible Tempest* ? *God's Hand is not shortned, that it cannot save, neither is his Ear heavy that it cannot hear : But it is our Iniquities have*

have separated between us and our God, and our Sins have hid His Face from Us, if He will not hear. Therefore those whom you command to plead with You, in the Name of God, on such Occasions, ought to Cry aloud, and not spare, but with all the plainness that becomes this Place, and this Time, Shew you your Transgressions and your Sins. Hie. 58. 1.

In order to this, I have made choice of these words, being a part of a short, but weighty *Epistle*, written by St. *John*, in the Name of Christ, to the Church of *Sardis*. Of it in particular, we have so little recorded in the History of the Church, that We can gather nothing from thence to give us a clearer Light into the meaning of these words: so I shall go no further than the *Epistle* it self, for setting before You the State in which it was at that time. *Sardis* had a great Name among the other Churches, as being one of those planted by the Apostles: It had a Name that it lived, yet was dead: Verf. 2. the Power and Life of Religion was under a great decay, the Remainers of it in some few Persons, that had not defiled their Garments, were even ready to die: Verf. 4. they were all that were left of those who had at first sincerely embraced the *Christian Religion*; they were but a Remnant of what had been, and they were like to drop off soon: but for the rest, tho they retained the outward Profession of their Religion, yet Christ knew their Works: and though in some things they might be praiseworthy, yet they were not full Weight and Measure; they were not such as became their Circumstances, their Light, the Advantages they had, nor the Age they lived in, in vvhich they ought not only to have been blameless and harmless, but to have lookt like the Sons of God, and

Phil. 2. 15. *to shine as Lights in the World, holding forth the Word of Life. In a word, their Works were not perfect before God.*

Upon this, direction is given them, how to amend what was defective or amiss among them: they were to *Remember what they had received and heard*, from the Apostles: They were to make that the Standard of their Actions: they were neither to frame a Religion to themselves, out of their own Imaginations, or make up a mixture of *Heathenism* and *Christianity*, to which many were then inclined; nor were they to be seduced by any false Teachers from the Apostolical Doctrine, which was their Rule; to this they were to adhere, and to *hold it fast*. They were to maintain it in its Purity uncorrupted while they lived, and to deliver it so to their Posterity at their Death.

They are also directed in the use of it, not to preserve it only as a matter of Speculation, or as a Denomination by which they were discriminated from others, but were to improve it so as to be the better for it; *To Repent*, to change their Hearts and Lives. If they were not awakened by this Alarm given them from Heaven, they were to look for a more terrible Blow, which should surprize them in the midst of their Securities, as a Thief when he is least lookt for: which also insinuates the Severity, as well as the suddenness of the Stroke. Thieves that break in in the Night, commonly carry all away with them that is worth their pains. On the other hand, the Remnant, who were then *but a few*, *that kept their Garments clean*, are comforted with the hopes of enjoying God in a State of more perfect Holiness, expressed in the Figure of *walking with Christ in White*:

White : and to encourage others to follow their steps, a general Promise is made to all them that continued to the end in that course of Life, that they should be advanced to the same State of perfect Holiness : their Names were now to be written in the *Book of Life* ; and at the Great Day, when these Books shall be opened, Christ would, before God, Angels, and Saints, give such a Testimony to them as is recorded in the *25th Chap. of St. Mat. Gospel, When I was Hungry, ye Fed me, &c.* This *Epistle* being thus explained, it will not be difficult to apprehend what the Particulars are on which I shall enlarge : They are these five :

Verf. 5.

1. Jesus Christ observes, and will reckon with every Church, according to the Blessings which they have received, if they live not suitably to them.

2. The Rule by which we are to examine our selves, and by which God will judg us, is the Doctrine which the Churches received from the Apostles.

3. All those who have heard and received this Doctrine, ought to keep it carefully, and to convey down that Sacred Trust committed to them to the succeeding Generations.

4. The chief Use We ought to make of this Doctrine, is to reform our Hearts and Lives ; to repent, and to forsake our Sins.

5. Such as will not make this Use of it, have reason to look for sudden and severe Judgments. All these things are clearly gathered out of my Text, and seem to comprehend the full sense of these words, *I have not found thy Works perfect before God : Remember therefore how thou hast received, and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a Thief.*

Thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

To Return to the first.

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1. Jesus Christ observes, and will reckon with every Church, according to the Blessings which they have received, if they live not suitably to them. *I have not found thy Works perfect before God.* *Perfect*: the Greek word is different from that which is commonly rendred *Perfect*, and strictly imports, *accomplished* or *filled up* with such Ingredients as make Works acceptable with God. By this we are not to understand that absolute Perfection, which excludes all Sin, or all Defects; for Works so perfect belong to another State: but such a Perfection as agrees to the Gospel-Covenant, by which all that is sincere is *perfect* in some sort, and will be so accounted for to us by God. Wherein the Works of this Church were not perfect, we can only guess at it, by what we find in the other *Epistles* in this and the former Chapter, and in the *Epistles* written by S. Paul to some other Churches. There are three things chiefly specified and insisted on.

Mat. 13.
20, 21.
Gal. 5.7.

1. Their falling from their *first Love*, and not doing their *first Works*, charged by St. John on the Church of *Ephesus*, and by St. Paul on the *Galathians*: they received the Gospel, according to the Parable of the Seed, *with great joy*: they began *in the Spirit*, they did *run well*, but the fear of Persecution, or the Cares of the World, and the Deceitfulness of Riches, made that the Seed of the Word of God, that had been sown among them, either withered, or was choaked; their
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first Fervour abated, their Love cooled, they became Lukewarm, and then quite cold and dead ; so that those who began *in the Spirit* in a spiritual Course, or had received the Gifts or Graces of the Holy Spirit, ended *in the Flesh*, became carnal and loose men. Gal. 3. 3.

2. They are charged for listning to false Teachers and Seducers : they had heard many strange things from the Apostles which were new to them, and these did raise a curiosity in them after Novelties, with a disposition to receive them ; some of them are particularly named in these *Epistles* : some brought in *Heathenish* Sorceries and Idolatrous Rites among them, as *Balaam* and *Jesabel* had done : others loosed all the Tyes of modesty and Wedlock, as the *Nicolaitans* did : others were for subjecting the *Christian Church* to the Yoke of all the Ceremonies of the *Mosaical Law* : and by the Arts which these Seducers used, the Churches that had received the Apostles with great kindness, so that they were ready to have plucked out their very Eyes for them, a phrase expressing the tenderest Affection, yet were too much inclined to entertain those false Apostles. Gal. 4. 15.

3. They were apt to divide and quarrel unreasonably about little and inconsiderable things, and carried these Heats so far, that even when they assembled together to receive the Holy Sacrament, they met *for the worse*, and *not for the better* : so that there were Divisions among them, and the several Parties assumed such Names as they thought would give them the most Credit : some were for *Paul*, some for *Apollo*, some for *Cephas*, and some for *Christ*. And the very Teachers themselves were factions and contentious, so that some at *Rome*, when *S. Paul* was in Prison for the Gospel, preached there *out of Contention*, that they 1 Cor. 11. 17, 18. 1 Cor. 1. 12. Phil. 1 15, 16.

Thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

To Return to the first.

τέλειος
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they might thereby *add affliction to his Bonds* : though in that they were disappointed ; for notwithstanding their Injustice to him, he rejoiced that Christ was preached by them. Some one or all these had perhaps got into the Church of *Sardis*, for which *S. John*, in the name of Christ, Expostulates with them. They had much to answer for, to whom the Apostles had delivered what they had seen and heard concerning Jesus Christ, confirming it with many Miracles, and had conferred on them extraordinary Gifts, so that they were made *partakers of the Holy Ghost, and of the Powers of the World to come* : These seem to have been the sins of this as well as of the other *Apostolical Churches*.

And now to apply all this to Our own Case, suffer me first in the Name of God to plead with you, and to set before you the many blessings you have received from him, beyond most or rather any Nation now in the World : We are born in a Country that abounds not only with all that is necessary for the Inhabitants, but yields Us great store of very valuable Goods which We exchange with other Nations, and bring over such things as grow not among Us ; with a vast encrease of wealth, which from all parts of the World flows unto Us : Our Country being equally well situated for security and Traffique, We have almost forgot when We were visited with the Plague of Famine. We are under a Government so rarely tempered by Law, that in it We have all the Advantages of other Constitutions, and avoid the mischiefs of the several Forms of Government, as much as is possible for any thing that is managed by mortal and sinful men to be : So that after any of the Convulsions that have been among Us, it has been still found necessary to return to the old Channel, and observe

serve the Landmarks which Our Forefathers set Us. These Blessings We enjoy beyond any Nation in the World, but these We have in common with the former Ages; they are also Temporal and end with this Life, We have yet much more to answer for.

We have the Light of the glorious Gospel of Christ among Us, and therein the Way to Life and Immortality hereafter, is opened to Us. This We have freed from all the impure mixtures of Idolatry or Superstition with which it is defiled in other Churches, and are delivered from the Tyranny of a Foreign Power. We have had Our Religion long secured to Us by Law, with all the Encouragements that can be expected, in a Church so happily constituted between the extreams of Ecclesiastical Tyranny on the one hand, and Enthusiastical Principles on the other hand; so that it is only our own Fault if We are not the Sanctuary and Defence of all other Reformed Churches, as well as We are the chief Object of the Practices and Designs of Our Enemies at *Rome*. This We have likewise in common with the former Age: but I shall next enumerate those Blessings that We of this Age have been more particularly favoured with: They are great and signal, and so obvious, that it will be enough to name them.

We were involved in a long and tragical War at Home, but were not swallowed up in it. Our Neighbour Island drank indeed of a bitterer Cup, and was covered almost all over with the Blood and the Carcases of the slain. But here the storm was not so terrible: The Conquerors were so restrained by that Supream Power that governs the World, that it is no small wonder there was so little Mischief done, by those who had

the Power to do so much: When Our Confusions thickned so upon Us, that our Government changed almost as oft as the Weather; all things returned of a sudden to their old Chancel, the King was restored, and the Nation was settled in so serene and calm a manner, that it cannot be denied there was a signal hand of Heaven in it. The more have We all to answer for, that have made so ill use of so extraordinary a Blessing; since that time we have had plenty and peace at home these twenty years, no breaking out, no complaining in Our Streets or Countries. We have all this while lived under the clear Light of the Gospel. And though many of the Pastors have much to answer, for their great failings; yet there have been raised up among us not a few eminent and faithful Labourers, who have asserted the Truth, and demonstrated the power of Religion, with as much advantage as hath been done in any Age since Miracles and Persecution ceased: and these have frequently given publick and free warning to the Nation. Many excellent Books have been writ, and Sermons have been published as well as preached, which will remain to the next Age to testify against that we live in. God has been calling on Us aloud from Heaven, both by his Mercies and Judgments, to turn to him, and to bring forth fruits worthy of Repentance, and meet for the Kingdom of God; that is, for his holy Gospel. A raging Pestilence, and a consuming Fire came quick one after another to awaken Us effectually: yet though We were then engaged in an expenceful War, God did not deliver Us up into the hands of our Enemies, though he corrected Us so severely himself.

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These things did perhaps give a little stop to some persons, though others went on still publishing their Sin as *Sodom* ; but with the return of Peace and the continuance of Plenty, We returned to, or still continued in our Sins : We have been delivered from another War since, and the ill designs of wicked Men were defeated and came to nothing : and now for above seven years We have slept in a profound Peace, and as profound a Security, when there was nothing but Vastation and Misery in the Countries that lie next to us : But our Enemies slept not, they were contriving how to make Us return back again into *Egypt*, or submit not our Necks only, but our Souls and Consciences to that Tyrannical yoke of the *Roman Slavery* ; and thought the Design so well laid for *rooting out* that which they call a *Pestilent Heresie*, that it was upon the point of being executed. Then did it appear that God was still watching over Us for good : and he that saw all these secret contrivances, so closely carried and cemented with so many sacred ties, disappointed all their Councils, and brought all their Designs to Light, when We were least aware of it ; being, though sensible of a great Danger hovering over Us, yet little apprehensive that it was so near Us, and was to break out in such a manner. I need not run over all those steps, by which Divine Providence has brought out what they intended we should never have known, till We had felt it, and been past the possibility of preventing or redressing it : They are well enough known, and are often in all our Mouths, Oh that they were as much in our Hearts !

And now put all these things together, and see if it may not be said concerning Us, what the Prophet *Isaias* said of the people of the Jews, *God has planted a Vinyard in a very fruitful place, with the choicest Vine, and has fenced it, and built a Tower in it*: In a word what more could have been done in this Vinyard, that has not been done in it? And therefore, as partial as we are apt to be in our own concerns, it may be referred to our selves, to judge between God and Us. We see and acknowledge what he has done for us; let us next consider what Grapes we have brought forth; what returns We have made to God? Have Our works been perfect before God? Alas! why do I say perfect! Have they not been on the contrary the worst, the most impious, and immoral that many could think on? We have exceeded the Sins of the Jews, and the Vices of the Heathens. It has not been only a slackning or going back of the Power of Religion, but an open revolt against Heaven; in too great a part of the Nation a Banner has been set up for Atheism and Impiety, and all have been encouraged to come about it. The Sins which our Popish Forefathers, and our more remote Heathenish Ancestors were so much ashamed of, that they committed them in corners, We have seen done in the sight of the Sun. The belief of a God, that sees, rewards and punishes, the rules of Vertue, and the doctrine of Christ have been by some openly assaulted, and treated with indignities which no other Nation could endure; while others have, if not directly consented to them, yet looked on as unconcerned, have laughed at and been pleased with them. Advantages have been taken from the Hypocrisie or Enthusiasm of the last Age, to throw off the very appearances of

of Religion or Vertue in this Age: and it has passed for a piece of Gallantry and decent Breeding to be above the fears and apprehensions of a Supream Power, or a Future State. Have we forgot how publickly that great Blessing of the King's Restauration was abused? It grew to that height that it was thought a Scandal not to concur in all the excesses of Riot and Intemperance that did then defile the Land. Whither shall we now turn our Eyes? If on this place, Luxury, Immorality, and open Lewdness meet us almost in every corner: If on the Country, how does Intemperance, Injustice, and a total neglect, if not a resolved scorn of Religion fill most places? And the excesses of Drinking have in many parts of the Nation, not only corrupted Civil Conversation, but vitiated the very Vitals of our Government, by the ascendent that such practices have had in so essential and main a part of our Security, as are the Elections of this great and Honourable Assembly: of whom, if some generously scorned such methods, too many have complied too much with so base and so ignominious a custom. If we have thus abused the earthly Blessings of Peace and Plenty, and have much to answer for on that account: Oh what can we say to excuse our selves who have not only brought no Fruit to perfection, notwithstanding all that Seed of the Gospel that has been so plentifully sown among us, but have done what we could to defie God himself, and to drive him out of our Country, being weary of that very dead Form of Religion yet remaining. And to bring this home to our present Circumstances, though we are under great apprehensions of losing this blessed Light; what are we doing to engage God to be on our side?

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We have been now for above two years in great Disorders, full of Alarms, and under eminent and visible Dangers; but what Lust or ill Custom have we parted with? What demonstration have we given to God or the World, that we consider Religion, as it is indeed the Power of God to the Salvation of our Souls? Or what do we for our holy Faith, that Infidels, Mahometans, Jews, or Papists, would not do for their Persuasions? Do we continue still in our Lewdness, Intemperance, Oppression, Injustice, Falshood, and ill Nature, while we are talking of preserving our Religion, and yet are doing all we can to undermine or overthrow it?

If God is against us, all that we can do for preserving Religion, or our other just Rights, will either by his wise and holy Counsels be quite blasted; or perhaps the very methods that to us seem the most probable to secure them, may in conclusion really introduce that which we fear so much. Are our Works perfect before God who knows them? To make a Work perfect, it must be good in it self, flow from a good principle, and be directed to a good end. The greatest part of our Works are faulty in all these particulars, so that neither We nor our Works can be accepted with that God, that *is of purer Eyes than that he can behold Iniquity*. Some of our Works may be in themselves good, and such is a Zeal for the Reformed Religion; but if some do not believe that about which they make so much noise, or if others have no design but to serve base Ends or private Interests, which they hid with the pretence of Religion, and are ready to throw it off, when they have attained that for which they are
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in truth only concerned, shall not God search this out ? Things may be so dressed up, as to have a fair appearance, but to God they appear as indeed they are : So the true value of us and our works, is according to what we are in his sight, from whom nothing can disguise us. From all these things it is but too evident, that our Works are not perfect before God.

If we will consider more particularly what may be supposed to have been the ground of the Expostulation in my Text, with this Apostolick Church of *Sardis*, we shall find the parallel betwixt it and us agrees but too well. These Churches had fallen from their first Love, and their first Works : Oh what sad decays are we come under ! And how much have we declined from that Zeal and Love which our Fathers bore to the Reformation ! There were two things that were visible in the practice of those who first embraced it among us : the one was the great pleasure they took in reading the Scriptures, from whence they were in derision called *Gospellers*. When the Bibles were first set up in Churches, and went at such rates that ordinary people could not buy them, what a running was there to Churches, and what Crouds gathered all day long about such as could read, to hear this blessed Word, which is now in all our Hands, and yet is scarce ever considered by us ? Some reade it only to abuse it, and make themselves merry with some Atheistical Jestes to which they wrest it : Others judge that indecent, so because they will make no ill use of it, they make none at all, and never open it but for fashion : some imploy their time in searching into the abstruser parts of it,
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with a prying and vain curiosity : some read it meerly to acquire a faculty of talking in such a Stile, and so either they pervert the Scripture by their false Glosses, or only learn to defend some Opinions out of it, or to discourse in that Dialect, for private Designs, to which that is perhaps some way necessary. But who reade them with a simplicity of Mind to be directed by them, and to be inwardly inflamed by the heavenly strains in them? So that we have little left among us to entitle us to the Name of Gospellers.

The other chief Character by which the *Reformed* were at first known, was their applying themselves only to God through Jesus Christ. This was intended to take men off from two fatal Errors, in which they had been formerly led ; the one was relying on such external Works as were really of no Value at all, and were only the jugglings of those deceitful Guides, that had set up Pilgrimages, slight Penances, and the purchasing Indulgences, in the room of that which our Saviour had revealed to the World ; the other was their imagining that they were justified by the Sacraments, upon some slight acts of sorrow or devotion. In stead of these things the Reformers set up the applying to God through Jesus Christ according to the methods of the Gospel : so that great and frequent addresses to the Father through his Son was the Mark by which they were then known : This begetting in them a sense of that Love which their Saviour had for them, could not but kindle returns of Love suitable to it ; and that must needs reform the inward Man, upon which Purity and Holiness of Life will certainly follow.

This

This was the main Article of the Reformation, and being that upon which the Hopes of Salvation depended, vvas indeed the thing of the greatest Consequence ; though it vvas afterwards managed with too much Metaphysicall Nicety. In sum, this being the chief Character of a true Protestant, vve may soon see how much vve have fallen from that Love vvhich our Fathers had to this Truth, while they lived ; and that appeared more signally by their dying for it, vvhen they vv ere called to give their last Testimony to it. But what is all this to us ? Are vve living under the Influences of that Love ? Do our Hearts burn with the sense of it ? What Reverence have vve for the Person, or vvhat Obedience pay vve to the Doctrine of our Crucified Saviour ? If any of this remain, it is much spent, at least, and ready to die.

The second Thing charged on these Churches, vvas, their being apt to be carried away by the cunning slight of those vvho lay in vvait to deceive, and their being too easily disposed to vitiate Christianity vvith the mixtures of Judaism, or Hethenism, or other Errors. Our Vices have taken us off from the Practice of the plain and indispensable Duties of our Holy Religion ; and then it is no vvonder vve find no pleasure in that Doctrine vv which can give no true Comfort to such as continue in their Sins. This disposes People to seek that elsewhere, vv which they cannot have among us : and therefore a Religion made up of Pomp and Shew, vv wherein God and his Saints vv ere offered to be bribed, in vv which they knew the Rates of Sin, and the Price of Heaven, found us but too well prepared to become Proselytes to it. Our Sins have been also so visible and scandalous, that they have made our Communion grow
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loathsome to many well-disposed, but weak minds, and have tempted them to separate from our Assemblies, when they saw such mixed multitudes among us : so that they have run into Sects, that had the appearance of greater gravity and strictness.

3. And we are no less faulty in the third Particular, of contending out of measure, for things that are no way essential to Salvation. Things of so indifferent a nature, that succeeding Ages will wonder how Men could manage such long and eager Contests about them. We have fallen into Passions concerning them, these have grown up to a hatred, which hath broken out into most violent and dismal Effects, and seems now settled into a formed Rent and Separation. Where is that charitable, healing and compassionate Temper which becomes Christians, and reformed Christians ? especially when they are as it were struggling for Life. O, shall nothing make us wiser ? shall neither the Advantages our Enemies take, nor the Prejudices Religion suffers by our Contests, dispose us to bear with one anothers Infirmities, and to manage our Differences, if we cannot entirely bury them, with a more Christian and decent Temper ! There have been Extreame on all hands : neither side can free themselves from being too much exasperated : The resentment for what has been done in the several turns of Affairs, has gone too far with us. It is not so much our Differences that divide us one from another, as our Alienation one from another which widens our Differences, and makes them appear to be greater than indeed they are. So on all Accounts we must acknowledg, that when our Works are weighed in those just Ballances, they cannot be found perfect before God. I hope we are all in some measure convinced

vinced of this : The thing is alas too visible. What is then to be done, but to set about a real Reformation, vwith all possible seriousness and sincerity ? And in order to this, and to direct us in it, here is a Rule and Standard given, by which we may govern our selves in the Means or Methods to it ; and that is the second thing I proposed to speak to.

2. The Rule by which we are to examine our selves, and by vvhich God vvill judg us, is the Doctrine which the Churches received from the Apostles, *Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard.* Here is a certain fixed Rule ; vve are neither left to the Heats of our own Fancies, nor to the Uncertainties of Tradition, nor to the Impostures of such as may pretend to the government of our Consciences : but are conducted by a more certain Thread. It is true, in the Apostles days this Doctrine was at first preached and received, before it was written. There was no great danger as long as they lived, who might be appealed to in any Difficulty which could arise concerning their Doctrine : so it is a vain way of arguing, to infer from the mention of *Tradition* in the Epistles, that we, after so many Ages are past, and so many Impostures have been discovered, should be obliged to receive what may be obtruded on us as Apostolical Tradition. Tradition while the Apostles lived, was what the Scripture is now : And indeed, so uncertain a conveyance is Oral Tradition, that in the very Apostles days, or soon after, when there were no Advantages to be made by such Cheats, and so there was less to tempt Men to them, yet many false Gospels were given out, and false Doctrines were infused into some weaker People. We know how unfaithful a Conveyer Tradition was of Natural Religion among the

Gentile Nations : The Gospel tells us how the Jews doted on the Traditions of their Fathers, and by them *made the Commandments of God of none effect*. The uncertainty of Tradition where it was not put in Writing, appeared within an Age after the Apostles, in the Contests concerning the Observation of *Easter* : both sides vouching the Practice of the Apostles, and that even while some were alive, that had seen them, and had lived with them. But after that Wealth and Greatness had corrupted the Church, and this Holy Religion was made an Engine to advance the Ambition and Interests of designing Men, then what a swarm of supposititious Writings appeared every where to support some Opinions or Designs ; many of these were discovered and branded, but others passed without a Censure ; so that it was long before Criticks in this and the former Age, could find out what was genuine, and what was counterfeit.

The most advantageous Imposture was coined and received in the 9th Century ; a whole Volume of the Epistles of the first Bishops of *Rome* from the Apostles days downwards, was pretended to be found ; in which they were represented as governing the Church in the former Ages, with the same *fulness of Power*, that their Successors have pretended to since. This was rejected by some in that Age, but kindly entertained by those that were more concerned for their own Greatness than for Truth : and by the Presidents in these Epistles, they justified what they did, till their Tyranny came to be generally submitted to : And now when these Epistles are found to be spurious, they have been forced to throw them away ; but stand upon Possession and Prescription, though it began at first upon this and some other Impostures,

postures, not unlike it, such as the Donation of *Constantine*, and many more.

They well know that their Cause cannot be defended if the Scriptures are appealed to : these in many Points are directly against them, as in the Worship of Images, and Angels ; the Praying in an unknown Tongue ; and the denying the Chalice, or saying, that Christ's Body which is now in Heaven, is in the Sacrament : in other things they are silent, such as the Pope's Power, the Infallibility of a General Council, the praying to Saints, the redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, Indulgences, Pilgrimages, with a thousand other additions, by which they have vitiated the Purity of that Holy Doctrine, vvhich the Apostles delivered to the World. This is the Foundation of our vvhole Religion, that we believe all that the Apostles delivered to the Churches, and no more : So we stand to this Appeal in my Text, *Remember therefore that thou hast received and heard.* It vvere easie to instance it in many Particulars, and to shew you how at first Ignorance and Superstition let in some Customs ; and perhaps those vvho introduced them at first, being innocent, but weak Men, meant vvell in it : So to draw the Heathens off from their Idolatry, they directed them to call on Saints, instead of the Gods they had formerly vvorshipped : and to perswade People to receive the Sacrament with great devotion, they strained their Eloquence and Invention to recommend the value of it in high Figures. Many more might be named, but these may suffice : Afterwards, when the *Roman Empire* was over-run by the IncurSIONS of the Barbarous Nations, and Civility, Religion, and Learning vv ere almost driven out of the World ; then some crafty and aspiring Priests came to graft upon the
Customs

Customs of the former Times, new Opinions, and still to add new Rites, till in the end they swelled up to what they are now at in the *Roman Church*. When these Opinions were first broached, Visions and Dreams were given out to support them: and if these lesser Frauds did not prevail, pretended Miracles were not wanting to give them credit, till they were received; and being once received, they were enrolled among the Traditions of the Church, and so were no more to be contested or denied: if any presumed to do it, it was at his Peril. These Miracles were coined so, as to fit not only the Doctrine it self, but the way of explaining it; and as new ways of explaining vvere fallen upon, new Miracles suitable to these new Expositions were at hand.

When the Doctrine of the Corporal Presence vvas first received in the 9th Century, it was believed that the whole Loaf was an entire Body of Christ, so that he was sliced in pieces, and eat up in Gobbets; and so they continued to understand it near 300 Years. Then the Miracles to prove it were adjusted to that Conceit; it was given out, that it did sometimes bleed, and pieces of it vvere said to be converted to pieces of Flesh: but after that the School-Divinity came to be in request, this vvay vvas not found so defensible, nor so decent: and then it was said, Christ was in every Crumb of the Host; so that upon the breaking it, an entire Christ flew off from the rest, which yet remained still as entire as it was, notwithstanding that Diminution: and then as they blessed Wafers instead of a Loaf, so the former Miracles were not so much talked of, though some ignorant Priests, that did not consider that these vvere contrary to the Doctrine of their Church, did in some places

places continue to act the former Cheats ; but new ones were more generally invented, and Christ was said to appear all in Rays, over or upon the Host : so well practised were they in the Arts of Jugling, as to make their Tricks always agree with their Hypothesis.

In opposition to all these false Doctrines, and lying Wonders, the Reformed have from the first beginning of the Reformation, set up the whole strength of their Cause, upon this single Plea, of receiving nothing as a part of their Faith, but what could be found in the Writings of the Apostles ; that so all agreeing on a common Umpire, their Differences might be more easily composed. The Church of *Rome* knows well what the Issue must be, if this is granted, and so have put the strength of their whole Cause upon the Authority of the Church, that is, themselves ; and the certainty of Oral Tradition, handed down by such Men as themselves are : Whether the one or the other seems to be the more ingenuous Principle, the more certain method of Trial, and the less liable to Deceit, I leave it to the Consciences of all wise and good Men.

But as we ought to *remember what we have thus received and heard*, so the end of this is not barely for speculation, to inform us about some Notions, or to furnish us with Arguments and Discourse ; these things are only necessary for a further end ; that our Minds being well informed, and our belief rightly directed, we may govern our Lives according to what the Holy Apostles have left to us. It is, because *their Works were not perfect*, that they are here charged *therefore to remember the Doctrine that they had received* : What shall our Knowledge, our Orthodoxy, and soundness of Opinion avail us, if we do not reduce it to practice ? unless it be to heighten
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our Condemnation, and to intitle us to more Stripes, and severer Judgments. Here we will find our Duties set before us, and from thence we will both know what our Sins have been, and how to turn from them. O that there were such a Heart in us! But as we ought to remember and improve the Doctrine delivered to the Church by the Apostles, so we ought to keep it carefully.

3. And this is the third Particular I am to speak to : All who have received this Doctrine, ought to preserve it, and to convey down that Sacred Trust committed to them, to the succeeding Generations. This is to *Hold fast* what we have received and heard. The meaning of this, considering the Circumstances the Church of *Sardis* was in, is either that they should preserve it pure, and keep it as it was delivered to them; or that if Persecutions should arise for the Faith, they should not depart from it for the Love of this present World, or make shipwrack of it; but should *hold fast the Profession of their Faith without wavering*. There were many Tares sown then in the Field of the Church; many of the Followers of *Simon Magus* were corrupting the Christian Religion; it was necessary on that account to look carefully to that Sacred *Depositum* that was put in their Hands. There was also a black Cloud gathering, a Persecution was coming on the Church: One Storm had passed, that had been raised by *Nero*, and they were now in another set on by *Domitian*; therefore it was necessary to put them on their Guard, and to charge them to keep, or *Hold fast* the Doctrine delivered to them. This was all that they could be obliged to. But in our Circumstances there is somewhat else imported in this Holding fast, that

that we ought not only to keep our Religion pure, and to be ready to suffer for it, if we are called to it ; but since we enjoy the Protection and Security of Law, and lawful Authority, we ought to hold that fast, and deliver it down to our Posterity, as we have received it from our Fathers.

We are to keep it pure from the Corruptions that may be introduced to vitiate the simplicity of our Holy Religion. We know the Enemies of the Church sleep not, though the Watchmen sleep too often. While we have Adversaries that are so restless and industrious, that make up in their Arts of Insinuation, and indefatigable Diligence, what is wanting in the Justice and Goodness of their Cause ; on these our Eyes ought to be much set. They have corrupted Religion wherever their Arts have been successful ; and have endeavoured to overthrow all Governments, and broken the Peace of all Societies, that have been so much on their Guard as to look carefully to them. For that same Principle that makes them burn and destroy where they have Power, makes them also incessantly plot and practise where they have it not. Severities in Matters of Religion are indeed contrary to that humanity that is imprinted in our Nature, and to those Rules that are often repeated in Scripture. But if any Sect of Religion continues to breed frequent and almost uninterrupted Disturbances in any Government, it is not enough to punish those that are found in the Fault ; but if it is evident, as it is certainly in this Case, that their Doctrine sets them on to, and will bear them through in such Conspiracies, it seems not possible to secure the Peace of a Kingdom so much infested by them, as we have been now 120 Years, but by delivering it entirely out of their hands, and putting an utter

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end to the Distractions we have been in, and the Mischiefs we have smarted under, by their means. They will live much better among their own Friends, beyond-Sea, where they may freely exercise their own Religion; and I am sure we will be much the happier and quieter for being freed from the trouble they have given us. And thus we are to *Hold fast* the Apostles Doctrine, and to keep our selves from the Infection of those who have corrupted it.

But if this cannot be done, and if God either to punish us for our former Sins, or to raise again the true Spirit of the Reformed Religion, to purifie us from our Dross, and to melt us into one Lump, and close up those Breaches which we have been rather widening than healing, will deliver us up into the hands of our merciless and implacable Enemies; then, as we know what we are to look for, so we ought to prepare our selves for it, and resolve to be *faithful to the Death*. We know what will be, not only by what has been, but by what is the Doctrine of that Church, of extirpating Hereticks, decreed in their General Councils: and what they have met with of late among us, has so whetted their Spirits against us, that if ever we are in their Power, the Cruelty of their Religion, being quickned by their private Resentments, we can look for nothing, but either to be forced to worship a piece of Bread, and to renounce that Faith which we now profess, or to seal it with our Blood, and that perhaps in the cruellest manner. I know it is not easie for Flesh and Blood so much as to think on these things without horror; But Oh, what will it be to suffer them! It will not be our living peaceably, nor our keeping our Belief to our selves, that will secure us: we must in all things comply; nay, and if we should dissemble and comply, we must by an over-acting
Zeal

Zeal procure our Pardon for what is past, and beget a Confidence in them for the future. I shall on this Head represent a little of what you may expect, by mentioning some few Passages of *Queen Maries*, never to be forgotten, bloody Reign, that are not so generally known. At first She promised the continuance of the Established Religion; soon after She procured it to be generally changed, even while the Laws were yet in force for it: But then it was said, none should be forced in their Consciences, if they would live peaceably. But when the Change was fully brought about, then, according to the Natural Genius of that Religion, an open and undistinguish't Persecution was resolved on. Orders were then sent from the Council Table, to the Justices of Peace, to have Spies in every Parish to observe every Man's Deportment: a bare Suspicion vvas ground enough to proceed upon. Persons being presented upon Suspicion, were imprisoned: and, without any Proofs or Witnesses brought against them, Articles vvere offered to them; to vvhich if they did not in all things answer according to the Doctrine of that Church, and if they could not be induced to change their Perswasions, they vvere condemned to the Fire, though they had neither said nor acted any thing contrary to the Established Religion. And it went yet further: The Justices of Peace having been often writ to, grew more and more backward to these Cruelties, especially vvhhen they saw them burn poor People single at first, then by pairs, then six, eight, ten, and thirteen were burnt in one Fire: neither the Blind nor Lame, aged Men, nor Women near their Time, no nor new-born Infants, escaping the rage of these Butchers: Then to make way for the Courts of Inquisition, a Commission vvas

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given to a selected Number, of vvhom three was a Quorum, to make enquiry over all *England*, not only of such as were suspect of Heresy; but of all that did not expresse their Zeal for the Popish Religion, in taking Holy Bread, or Holy Water, or going in Processions; which tho they are not things to which all in that Communion are obliged; yet these discovering the Affections and Inclinations of the People, such as did them not, vvhere to be proceeded against upon these Suspitions. At first such as vvhere burnt, had their Lives offered to them at the Stake if they would Recant; but as the Persecution went on, they became more barbarous, so that it vvvas not enough for one to Recant then: for a Sheriff was cast in Prison and fined, for staying the Execution of one who did it: It was said, if he Recanted sincerely, it was better to burn him, than to leave him to the Temptations of becoming a Relapse; and if he did it not sincerely, it was pity to spare him. So which way soever it was, Die and Burn he must. And that none might escape out of their Toils, care was taken to secure all the Ports that none might fly beyond Sea.

Here is a sad Prospect before us; but in what Disposition are we to bear it? We have no reason to doubt but great numbers will turn with the Tide, as they did then. Many who seem now to be hot and zealous for the Protestant Religion, will then, perhaps, be as busie to discover and accuse those whom they now censure, not only rashly, but maliciously. Men of ill Lives, and defiled Consciences, want that Principle vvwhich must strengthen them to bear the Cross, and make it easie and comfortable to them. It is quite another thing to own this Faith in our present Circumstances, from what it will be to adhere to it then.

It is not yet come that, and God of his infinite Mercy preserve us from it. We are taught by him that knew our Nature well, *to watch and pray that we enter not into Temptation; for tho the Spirit, or our sublimer Powers may be forward and willing, yet the Flesh is weak.* We are therefore to do all that is in our Power, and is consistent vvith that Religion vvich vve profess, to prevent this. You of this Honourable Assembly are now entrusted with the keeping this Doctrine, as it is a part of the Law of the Land; the People have trusted you with all that is dear to them; and it is hoped you will acquit your selves as worthy of so great a Confidence. On this I shall enlarge no further, but apply to you the Message Esth. 4. 13. which Mordecai sent to Queen Esther, when her People were marked out for destruction: *Think not that you shall escape more than all the rest: for if you altogether hold your peace at this time, there may come enlargement and deliverance to us from another hand; but you and your Houses shall be destroyed: and who knows if you are come into this trust for such a time as this is.* If any shall, either on the one hand, give up this Holy Religion, and those means which are most effectual to secure it, for private or base ends of their own; or, on the other hand, shall, to gratify their Revenge, or to advance any ill Design, endeavour to drive things to Confusion, so that we become a Prey to a formidable Neighbour, where Popery, with its concomitant Tyranny, shall subdue us at once: These are the Betrayers of their Religion and their Country, and do entitle themselves to the heaviest Curses in the whole Book of God.

But the Nation hopes better things from you: and, as we pray for it, so are we confident they shall not be ashamed or disappointed of their hope. Your maintaining the Laws, or providing such new ones

as our present Circumstances call for, for the preservation of our Religion, is not all that you are to do for it; there are many other Things besides that come under your care, which are also necessary, that we may *Hold fast* this our Profession. I shall name two Particulars. The one is, that there are so many Parishes in this Great and Rich Kingdom, in vvch there is so little Provision left for those that labour in the Work of the Gospel, that it is not possible, humanely speaking, to find fit and able Pastors to undertake such a Charge upon so mean an Encouragement: and many of these fall to be the greatest and the most populous Parishes in their Neighbourhood: *The Labourer is worthy of his Hire*: But in many of these the Hire will not amount to the meanest and most frugal Subsistence, that can consist with the decency of that Function. If weak or scandalous Men are cast on such Places, so that the People are neither instructed nor edified by their Labours, but are rather scandalized by them: it is worth your serious Consideration, to find out effectual Means for redressing so great an Evil, by which so many Souls are lost, and such a Door has been opened to Seducers and false Teachers among us. The other is, that we will endeavour to secure the Reformed Religion among us, by doing all we can to maintain the Outworks of it, I mean, the Foreign Churches, some of whom are now in a most deplorable and sinking Condition. The Methods that *Julian* the Apostate used to extirpate Christianity, not by the quick and sharp Ways of Persecution, but by slower Steps; being now taken to root out that, which main Force could not do. To these we ought to extend our Compassion and Assistance, as we would expect the

the like from others when we may be brought to drink of the like bitter Cup, which how near it may be to us, God only knows. But all these Means will prove ineffectual if we have not God on our side; except he watch over us, and build up our Ruines, you that build, and we that watch, shall labour in vain. This leads me to the fourth Particular, which is, Psal. 127. 1.

4. That the chief use we ought to make of this Doctrine, is to reform our Hearts and Lives, to repent of, and forsake our Sins. *Repent*: I shall not here run out into a large Discourse of this, but sum up in short what is comprehended under it. The word imports more than a bare sorrowing for our Sins, or an external change of our Life, and does chiefly signifie the inward Change and Reformation of our Minds: when we put on a new Disposition, come under new principles, and are inwardly turned in the value and estimate we have of things, and in our practical judgments and formed Resolutions. Repentance is, when a Man having another sense of God, and true Goodness, another apprehension of Vice and Sin, other thoughts of a future State, other Impressions of the Love of Christ, and the Truth of the Gospel; and all these things growing into formed Principles in him, his Mind is turned to such a detestation of his former course of Life, as engages him not only to forsake it, but to enter upon a quite different Course; so that he feels himself inwardly regenerated and changed. Oh, have I not been describing a thing little understood! Some sorrow for Sin, which is scarce possible for the worst Men to avoid, is all the Notion too many have of it: Others fancy to compound for their Sins, with some Austerities, by an outward pageantry, or compounding with

with God or his Saints if they can, and doing it effectually where they can, with the Priest: believing that his absolving them is of some other Virtue, than a Declaration to them of what they may certainly expect if they are sincere in their Repentance. But if these things come short of a true Repentance, what is to be said of those who have not so much? who have no remorse for their Sins, but live on securely in them, or do worse, *Glory in their Shame*. These are far enough from having repented, who are growing up daily to a higher pitch in their Impieties. You have expressed your sense of the Necessity of this Duty, by your addressing about it: but if it goes no further than the solemnity of a days vacation from Business, or abstaining from Meat, and the hearing some Sermons, or joining in Prayers; this can have no other effect but to raise our guilt higher, by our pretending to draw near to God with our Lips, when our Hearts are far from him. Our Sins are drawing heavy Judgments on us: our Repentance only can prevent them; not such a trifling Performance as I have described, but a sincere and entire turn to God. We ought to be humbling our selves in secret, every one for those Sins by which we have provoked him, and have been adding to that great Heap of Guilt, by which we have been too universally treasuring up Wrath against the Day of Wrath. We are apt enough to censure the Vices and Failings of others, especially if on other Accounts we are displeased with them, and if we our selves are not visibly faulty in the same kind. But there are other Sins, besides Uncleanness and Intemperance, which may involve us in the common Ruin that threatens us. And if we know our selves guilty, even of that which we censure in others, we by judging them do

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condemn our selves. Let us collect our Thoughts, and ask our selves, What have we done? Have we been adding Sin to Sin, and perhaps Hypocrisy, or a counterfeit Zeal to all the rest? We are under the Eye of the All-seeing God, to whom all things lie naked and open, *Darkness before him shineth as the Day; the Darkness and the Light are both alike to him.* Let us not deceive our selves; God is neither to be mocked, nor bribed. It is only our sincere Repentance that can again restore us to his Favour; and if the Sins of the Nation are not grown to that height, that, as is said of the Sin of *Manasseh*, *God will not* 2 King. 24.4 *pardon it; so that though Noah, Job, and Daniel,* Ezek. 14.14. *were among us, they could only deliver their own Souls;* We may hope, that upon our Repentance, either that Cloud of Wrath, now over our Heads, may be broken and dissipated, or, at least, that our Peace and Tranquillity may be so lengthned out, that *the Evil shall not come in our Days.*

If we Repent truly, we will lay down our Animosities and Quarrellings about lesser Matters; and finding how guilty we are all in the presence of God, we will be more gentle in the Judgments we make of others, and more severe in the Censures we pass upon our selves. We will change the course and frame of our Lives, not only in such Instances as are more scandalous, and so may be a prejudice to us in our other Designs, but will enter upon another Method and Way of Life, such as becomes Christians. If this is not done, all that we do beside, will not be effectual to preserve us. If God is still offended with us, he will not want Instruments

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for our punishment, though we had not a Papist in *England*, nor an Enemy in all the World.

But on the other hand, If we sincerely turn to God, as we know in general he is gracious and merciful, slow to Anger, and full of Compassion; so we have, in particular, all the Assurances that either his Promises, or the Experience of former Times can give us, that He *will receive us graciously; that he will take away all our Iniquities, and heal all our Back-slidings.*

Personal Repentance, and the mourning for the Sins of others, are Duties incumbent on all: To these you stand obliged in your private Capacities; But as you make up this Honourable Assembly, there is a futher Repentance incumbent on you. You, who represent the Nation, ought, in the Name of the whole Body of the People, to think on such Laws as are necessary for the restraint of Vice. It is visible, the Impiety of the Nation has made way for Popery; and though that were out of doors, yet if the other continues still, it will prepare us to open Atheism and Irreligion. God cannot be at Peace with us, while our Adulteries are so many, while Drunkenness is so common, while Religion is so much scorned, even by those who seem zealous for it; while Cursing and Swearing are the usual Dialect; while Profanity, Scurrilous Talk, and many other things which ought not to be named among Christians, are so openly and bare-facedly practised among us. By your endeavours to redress these, and at least, to make People ashamed of them, if they

they do not forsake them ; You shall also, in your publick Capacity, shew the reality of your Repentance, both to God and the World. It is an ordinary thing for all People, who have some one great thing in their Eye, to look only at that, and to over-look many other Things, if they do not immediately belong to that of which they are chiefly afraid. Popery is now in your Eye, and it ought to be so, till you have to purpose secured us from the danger of it : But at the same time you ought to look further, to the Ground of God's displeasure against us, to that which has brought us into all this Danger, and must certainly bring ruin on us in conclusion, if effectual Remedies are not found out in time. Our Irreligion and Impiety has made many to be little concerned in these Matters ; and our Contentions about some inconsiderable Things, has diverted the Thoughts and Endeavours of others, to the securing of particular Interests, or making of Parties.

To these, if you provide effectual Remedies, both for reforming and uniting us, then you shall be had in perpetual remembrance, as the Repairers of our Breaches, and the Restorers of our Ruins : so that all shall bless you, and in their wishes for a happy Parliament, shall name you with Honour, and wish it may be such a one as this has been.

We have all the reason in the World to conclude, that this Nation is dear unto God ; and we are sure, the Holy Religion we profess, is from him ; why should we then despond, and not still hope in that God, who has hitherto given us such abundant Proofs

of his care of us, and of his regard to the Reformation among us. When we remember by what steps and methods it was brought in and established here ; How short the Storm was in Queen *Mary's* Reign, and that she died without Issue, which might have brought us both under Popery, and made us a Province to a Foreign Tyranny ; when we reflect on the long and glorious Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* ; on the happy disappointment of the *Armada*, believed and called *Invincible* ; the discovery of the *Gunpowder Plot*, with the later Blessings yet in our Eyes ; we have from all these much reason to conclude, that we are in a special manner favoured of God. Nothing can break off this course of Mercies with which he has followed us, but our obstinate persisting in our Sins : If we resolve on this, there is nothing before us, but a fearful prospect of Wrath and Indignation. And this leads me to the fifth and last Particular, of which I proposed to speak, which is,

5. That such as do not make this use of the Gospel, as to be thereby led to Repentance, have reason to look for sudden and severe Judgments. *If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come upon thee as a Thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.* God's Judgments are a great depth, and the Methods of them are unaccountable : Some wicked Nations, and Impious and Tyrannical Governments, have flourished long ; Triumph and Victory have seemed entailed on them. The *Affrian* of old, and the Turkish Empire at present, are great Instances of this. These are Portions of the World, which

which God for their other Sins gave in prey to savage Masters; whose Prosperity made them the fitter Instruments of his Justice. But it is observable, that those Nations whom he has more especially favoured, are more signally punished when their Sins have been so notorious, that it seemed necessary to give publick Evidences of the impartiality of God's governing the World. *You only have I known of all the Families of the Earth; therefore will I punish you for your Iniquities.* *Amos 3. 2.* The whole History of the *Jews*, till their final and almost total Destruction, is one continued Instance of this. The Roman Empire, when it turned Christian, but was not much reformed by that Light, was given up to be wasted by swarms of *Goths, Vandals, Huns*, and other Northern Nations, who for near two Ages together, laid it so waste, that what by the Destruction they made, and the Famine that followed upon that, which brought after it unheard of Plagues, the History of that Time contains a Succession of the most terrible Miseries that can be imagined. The *African* Churches, that were the best regulated of any then in the World, yet having fallen from their first Love, and being rent in pieces by Schism, and becoming generally corrupt in their Manners, notwithstanding the excellent Bishops that were among them; *St. Austin* in particular, who was the last of those that were sent to warn them of the Judgments they might look for, which he did faithfully; but nothing prevailing, they were first destroyed by the *Vandals*, and then so totally by the *Saracens* and *Moors*, that the Name of Christ is called on no more in them, except it be in their Dungeons;

geons, by those miserable Captives that are kept in such slavery among them, that it should tear every Christian's Heart to think on it. The Eastern Empire was first by the *Goths*, then by the *Huns* and the *Avars*, afterwards by the *Saracens*, and finally by the *Turks*, so wasted, that the small Remainers of Christianity among them, serve only as the Ruins of some great Fabrick, to shew what once it was. The City of *Antioch*, once among the noblest of the World, in which that glorious Name of Christian first began, was by a frequent return of most terrible Earth-quakes, and devouring Fires, so ruined, that it is now but a small inconsiderable Village. *Sardis*, in my Text, is no better: These Seven Churches here writ to, are now under the slavery of *Ma-hometans*, and indeed retain little but the Name of Christian; some of them are so entirely destroyed, that it is not so much as certain where they stood. When we hear of these things, we ought wisely to consider of these Works of the Lord: Why should we hope to escape, if we are as guilty as they were? But to turn your Eyes to what is nearer you; After the Gospel was planted here in *Britain*, while we were under the Roman Yoke, and was watred with the Blood of many Martyrs that suffered under the Heathenish Persecution; The *Britans* being blest with Peace and Prosperity, did soon forget God, and fell from their first Love. Then what Judgments fell on them? The Northern People being more War-like, broke into the Southern Parts, who were soft and luxurious: These hiring the *Saxons* to their Assistance, were thereby brought under a much more
cruel

cruel Bondage ; and those either rooted out the Christian Religion, or drove it up into the Mountainous parts of this Kingdom. What the Sins, both of the Clergy and Laity were, is set out by *Gildas*, that lived not long after that Time ; and they resemble our present Condition so much, that it gives us cause to fear the Parallel shall be as equal in our Judgments, as it is now in our Sins. When the Reformation began first in *England*, many run into it, rather out of hatred to the Clergy, and love to their Lands, than out of Zeal for the Truth : So that the Bishops in King *Edward's* Time, did, by some Letters which they sent about among their Clergy, call upon them to warn the People of the heavy Judgments of God, ready to fall upon them : but they went on in their Sins with a high hand, so that the Land was full of Oppression and Injustice, Adultery and Sensuality : God visited them for these things, and took away that blessed young King, and left them in the hands of a superstitious and bloody Princess, who fearing her own Power was not strong enough to alter the established Religion, married the Prince of *Spain*, and by a vast Treasure which he brought over into *England*, corrupted the great Men, and the Publick Councils of the Kingdom ; so that all that had been building up in twenty five years, was overthrown in a little more than one, by Parliaments, over whom Spanish Gold had greater influence, than the Sense of their Trust, or their Regard to God and their Country. Shall I put you in mind of the terrible Judgment of God, that broke out lately on our neighbouring Island, where, the Barbarity of the Natives
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being sharpened by the Cruelty of their Religion, and the Practices of their Priests, a Massacre and Destruction did almost wholly consume them? How near were we brought to utter Ruin? and how long were we ruled by the Sword, during the late Wars?

Are all these things forgotten? Or, do we remember them, only to furnish out Discourse with them? We at present are all sufficiently apprehensive of our ill Condition, we see the great Danger we are in of Popery's subduing us; we see an overgrown Neighbour ready to break in upon us, or at least, upon that which is but a step from us. There is a Fermentation among our selves, so high, that it is like to involve us in great Confusions: The things that belong to our Peace seem to be hid from our eyes. Is not all this of the Lord? Most of the Evils we either feel or apprehend, are the natural Effects of our Sins and Vices, as well as of the Judgment of God punishing us for them. The Vices too common amongst us, have corrupted the Minds, and darkned the Understandings of many, and are like to become their own Punishments.

All these things are but the beginnings of Sorrows, which seem to be coming on us. What do we then? Do we sit crossing our hands, accusing one another, or it may be, faintly condemning our selves? We perhaps imagine, if we were rid of Popery, all would be well. It is certain, we should be much better than we are: but if the Root of our Distemper remains, the carrying off one Sympton will but dispose the way to another. God can either plague us,
by

by delivering us up to a forreign Enemy, who shall have no pity on us; or can again send his Arrows among us, a Pestilence to sweep away our Inhabitants, or a Fire to burn down our Cities. He can leave us to bite and devour one another, till we are consumed one of another. And if he come upon us, what can we do to withstand his mighty Arm? Can we restrain his Thunders, or be proof against his Arrows? O how weak are all Devices, when God blasts them! If our Destractions continue, we are like the Builders of *Babel*, so divided, that nothing but utter and irremediable Confusion is like to be the end of them, if we once fall in pieces.

Well, we are yet in Peace, we rise up and lie down in quiet; how long it will be so, we cannot tell: We seem to be near great Convulsions; we have no reason to desire them. We are now full of Wealth, our Trade is free, and much spread; we have a Concurrence, both at home and abroad, of many things that might yet make us a great and happy People, but want the Power to improve it. What shall the end of these things be? It were too great a presumption in me, nor proper for this place or occasion, to enter into Particulars; but one thing I may adventure on, which is, If you of this Honourable Assembly, who have now bespoke the Prayers of the whole Nation upon your Consultations, would frequently address your selves to God, and set off such Hours as your Business can admit of, for earnest Prayer to God, to direct and bless your Councils, and to bend all your Hearts, to that which is both most for his Glory, the Establishment of his true Re-

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ligion,

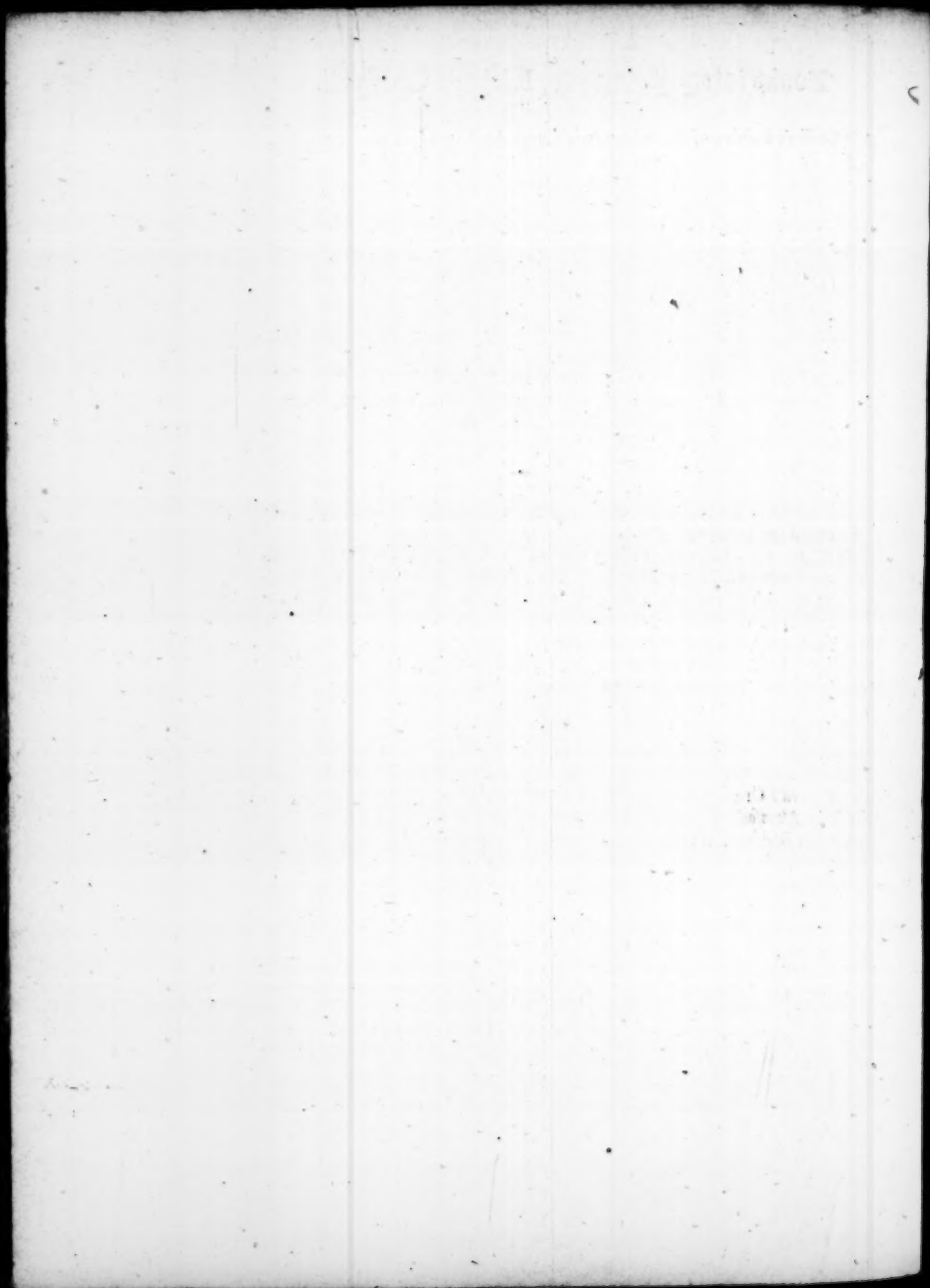
ligion, and the Security, Peace, and Happines of the Kingdom ; we might justly hope, *that God, even our God, would give his Blessing to Endeavours so begun, and so managed : Then should the Light of the Gospel, which is our Glory, still dwell in our Land : Mercy and Truth should meet together, and Righteousness and Peace should kiss one another : Then should the Lord give us that which is good, and our Land should yield her increase. O that there were such an Heart in us, that we might fear him, and keep his Commandments always ; that so it may be well with us, and our Children after us, for ever.*

To God the Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost, be all Honour and Glory, both now and evermore.

FINIS.

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A
SERMON

Preached before the

Right Honourable

THE

Lord-Mayor

AND

ALDERMEN

OF THE

City of London,

AT

BOW-Church, September 2. 1680.

Being the Anniverfary Faft for the Burning of
L O N D O N.

By GILBERT BURNET



The Second Edition.

LONDON, Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and
Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1681.

Clayton Mayor.

Martis vij. die Septembr' 1680. Annoque Regis Caroli secundi Angl', &c. xxxij.

THis Court doth desire Dr. Burnet to Print his Sermon Preached on the Second of September instant, at BOW-Church, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City.

WAGSTAFFE.

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57...643, 4

To the Right Honourable
Sir Robert Clayton ,
LORD-MAYOR
OF THE
City of London.

My Lord, -

THE Publishing this Sermon, was no easy part of my Obedience to your Lordship's Commands, and to the Desires of the Court of Aldermen : for I have no reason to expect it should be so favourably received, when it is brought under the Eyes and Censures of the World, as when it was first delivered. Since the good temper the Auditory was in, upon the remembrance of that great Conflagration, made it pass more acceptably at first hearing, than is to be hoped for upon a stricter review of it. And some Persons of high Worth and Eminence, have been of late, treated so unsuitably, either to their Merit, or their designs in what they Preached, that it may justly give such a one as I am, apprehensions of ill usage, for touching our sores, which are so tender, that some cannot bear the handling them in the softest manner.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

But having observed that what I said on these heads, was not unacceptable to your Lordship, who are so great a Judge; I do the more freely adventure on making it publick. Since the Justice, Prudence, and Moderation of your Government, has given your Lordship so great an Interest in the esteem and affections, not only of this great City, but of the whole Nation; that as those who are to succeed you in that high Trust, will be valued and loved, as they follow the Pattern you have set them; so there are few things that can recommend such a Discourse more, than that I may, by your Lordship's permission, say, it was approved of by one of so great an understanding, and so excellent a temper, as yours is generally known to be.

God grant this may have some good effect on those that heard it, or may read it, and that the sad prospect now before us, may by the mercy of God, upon our unfeigned Repentance, be changed unto a serene and happy calm: wherein that your Lordship may be a great Instrument, both in this City, and in the publick Councils of the Kingdom, is the Earnest Prayer of

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Humble, and

most Obedient Servant,

G. BURNET.

AMOS, chap. 4. verse 11, 12.

I have overthrown some of you, as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and ye were as a Firebrand, pluck'd out of the Burning: Yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the Lord.

Therefore thus will I do unto thee, O Israel: And because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.

THE remembrance of that dismal Day, which brings us now together, grows too soon stale and cold; and perhaps passes rather as a doleful Tale, that we are to hand down to the next Age, than as a Subject by which our Repentance and Humiliation are wrought on. We rather glory in our Wealth, and the great Splendor of *London* rebuilt, than are humbled, when we remember how she was laid in *Ashes*. The Largeness and Evenness of the Streets, the Regularity and Beauty of the Houses, the Magnificence of the Churches, Halls, Gates, the Exchange, the Canal, the Monument, with the other Glories of the City, do perhaps so much amuse us; that, seeing now no other Marks, by which we can know what Places were burnt, and what escaped that spreading and devouring Flame, but the Meanness of the one, compared to the Pomp of the other, we are apt to think, Why should so disastrous a Day be had in such constant remembrance? which might be more suitable when the Wound was green, the *Ashes* and Rubbish were not removed, when the Impression was deep, and Men were more sensible of their Losses, which in a Succession of fourteen years, they have either digested, or being quite broken by them, have made way for new Inhabitants, that had no share of the former Calamity. But now
it



may seem too long, to perpetuate the Memory of these black Days, and bright Nights, that so many of you looked on then with amazement, and must still reflect on with horror.

Yet if we consider, that, how instrumental soever the Hand of Hell was in it, certainly the Hand, or rather the Breath of Heaven was visible, both in spreading it over so many Regions of this populous City, and in stopping it of a sudden, when the Fire had executed its Commission; we cannot but think it fit, after so long an Interval, still to remember what may be supposed to have been the procuring Causes of such an unheard-of Burning, which seems since, by a sort of Contagion, to have spread into many other Cities of the Nation: And whereas in former times, a Fire that carried away a few Houses was thought dismal; now except it burn down whole Towns, or Streets at least, we think it gentle and merciful. If we also reflect upon the Time when it broke out, that it followed a long and an unhappy War, and a raging Pestilence, our Miseries returning so thick upon us, as *Job's* Messengers did; all these things concurring with the sad and gloomy Prospect now before us, *It is surely meet to be said unto God, I have born Chastisement, I will not offend any more; if I have done Iniquity, I will do so no more.* And joining that we have seen and felt, with that which is almost all visibly before us, we must conclude, it is fit to turn to Him, who did some years ago afflict us so severely, but has since given us a long Interval of Peace and Plenty, and seems now to be bending his Bow, whetting his Sword, and preparing against us the Instruments of War.

The words in the Text, pronounced upon the like occasion, offer to us, both the Reflection on what is past, the Consideration of what is present, and the Prospect of what we may look for. Of which I shall first speak a little in General, before I apply them.

This Prophecy was given in Commission to *Amos*, one of the Herdsmen of *Tekoa*, a Town distant twelve Miles from *Jerusalem*, and six from *Bethlehem*; so that he lived in the Tribe of *Judah*, tho' he was sent to the Ten Tribes, that still continued in the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*. *Jehu* having rooted out the *Sidonian* Idolatry of the *Baalim*, he and his Family, as a Blessing, even upon that imperfect Reformation, reigned over these Tribes 104 years; but

before the Lord-Mayor, Septem. 2. 1680.

3

but the Period of it was now near an end, and with it, of the Peace and Liberty of that Kingdom: For *Jeroboam's* Son, *Zacharias*, reigned only six Months; and his Murtherer, *Shallum*, but one Month. *Menabem*, who conspired against him, reigned ten Years; yet against him came up the King of *Assyria*, the conquering Empire of that Age; and though *Menabem* redeemed his present Quiet, by the Tribute of a Thousand Talents, that procured them only a while's respite. His Son, *Pekabiah*, being a wicked Prince, *Pekab* conspired against him, and killed him in the second Year of his Reign. Then *Tiglath-Pileser*, another *Assyrian* King, came, and perhaps pretended to revenge the Death of *Manabem* their Ally's Son, and carried away most of the Land of *Galilee* into Captivity. And the total Captivity of these Tribes followed under the next King. So that from the Days of this Prophecy, what by the Revolutions of Government at home, what by the Impressions the proud *Assyrians* made on them, they had a Succession of grievous Calamities, which ended in the total Subversion of that State. And they were so dispersed in their Captivity, that except some Straglers that might have returned with *Zorobabel*, they were never again gathered together; so that it is now only matter of conjecture what is become of them.

Amos was one of the last Messengers, that was sent to invite them to Repentance. God had before spoken to them in the dismal Language of his Judgments, by Famine, by the blasting of their Harvest, and binding up the Clouds, that it did not rain; by such Mildew, and Vermine, as had consumed all their Fruits, their Vines, Olives, and Figs; by War, and the Plague, to such a degree that their Dead were not buried, but lay in the Fields, to infect the Air, and to offend the Living. *The Stink of your Camps came into your Nostrials*. Which are all mentioned in the Verses before my Text. And finally, that some of their Cities had been burnt down by the Hand of Heaven. Two years after this, another Calamity came on them, from such an Earthquake, mentioned by *Zachariah*, that the People, terrified with it, thought of flying out of the Land; for this Time being contemporary to that of *Uzziab*, the Earthquake there mentioned, which became a Proverb, seems to be the same spoken of in the first verse of this Prophecy. So that this honest Shepherd was called from his Flocks, to see, if the Simplicity and Plainness of the Man, and of his Style, which is the lowest of any of all the Prophets, could be a Mean to awaken them out of their Impieties.

Compare
2 Kings 10.
36. & 13.
1, 10. &
14. 23.

2 Kings 15.
19.
2 Kings 15.
29.

2 Kings 17.
6.

Zach. 14. 5.

The

The Sins he accuses them most for, were their *Irreligion*, desiring to stop the Mouths of the Prophets, saying, *Prophecie not*. And tho' they observed the returns of their Festivities, their New-Moons, and Sabbath Days; yet they were weary of them, observing them only for Forms sake, and longed to have them over. He also charges them for their *Luxury*: They had rebuilt their burnt and wasted Cities with hewen Stone, and had planted pleasant Vineyards and Olive-yards; they drank Wine in Bowls, something like Healths now a-days; they anointed themselves with rich Ointment, had their Beds of Ivory, and rich Couches about their Tables, feasted high and had excellent Musick at their Entertainments, were guilty of great Iniquity and Oppression, so that there was no Truth nor Justice among them. And they were become so barefac'd and impudent in their Vices, that good and prudent men thought fit to keep silence in that Time, because it was an evil Time. For all these reasons the Prophets threaten them with a Captivity, and other severe Judgments; and that because God had known them only of all the Families of the Earth, therefore he would punish them for their Iniquities.

In the Words I have read, he says, *I have overthrown you* (Some is not in the Hebrew) *as God did Sodom and Gomorrah*. As, does not import in the Scripture-Phrase an exact resemblance, but only some Similitude in general. So that it does not necessarily import, that Fire came down from Heaven on them, but that they were overthrown totally, perhaps by Fire, Thundring or Lightning. The *Chaldee Paraphrast* understood it more generally and rendred it thus: *The Word of the Lord abhorred them, as he did Sodom and Gomorrah*.

You were as a Firebrand pluck'd out of the Burning. A proverbial Form of Speech, either expressing the great Danger they had run, with the extraordinary Deliverance they had met with, God rescuing them on a sudden; as also the despicableness of their present Condition, since nothing looks worse than a Firebrand snatch'd out of the Fire.

Yet have you not returned unto me, saith the Lord. They continued in their Impieties, and irreligious Worship, in their Separation from their right way of worshipping God at *Jerusalem*, in their Luxury, Sensuality, and Injustice: and all the Judgments they had felt, which perhaps might have a little awakened them, when they lay under them, had not any such effect, as to turn their Hearts or to change the Course of their Lives.

Therefore

Therefore thus will I do unto thee, O Israel; and because I will do thus unto thee. Thus, may either relate to the former Judgments, as if they were to be repeated upon them; or to what follows of the Captivity threatned in the beginning of the next Chapter, The Virgin of Israel being fallen, and not able to rise; Ten being left of an Hundred, and a Hundred of a Thousand.

Prepare thee to meet thy God, O Israel. This is either an Ironical Alarm to them, to see what they could do to resist that God the God of Hosts, that formed the Mountains, created the Wind, knew the Secrets of Mens Hearts, could bring darkness on the Earth in a bright Sunshine, and tread upon the high Places of the Earth. the great Powers and mighty Empires, at his Pleasure: they were to try how they were able to resist his Thunders, to bind up the Clouds, or the Winds of Heaven, or to disperse those Armies that he was to send against them; whom he would inspire with great Courage, when they should be stuck with panick Fear, and such sorrow and dejection of Mind, that all their Songs should be turned to Lamentations. Or this, *Prepare thee to meet thy God*, is an Invitation to Repentance, as that which could only avert those Judgments that were ready to break forth on them, and dissipate the Clouds; so that instead of the Storms they had reason to look for, they might be blest with a serene Calm, and entire Peace, upon their returning to God.

Having thus opened the Scope and Intention of the Prophet in the Text, I shall now speak to these four Particulars.

- I. When we have met with Judgments, signal, both in their kind, and in the deliverance out of them, we ought to remember God's hand in them, and to consider, for what ends he both laid them on, and took them off.
- II. We ought to consider, what effect these have had on us; Whether they have made us turn to God, or not?
- III. We are to consider, how much severer Judgments we may reasonably look for, if those that have already come upon us, have not prevailed to make us return to God.

IV. Upon all this, we ought to look unto God, and to endeavour to prevent that which we cannot otherwise avoid or resist, by an unfeigned Repentance.

For the First of these : If we believe, that the World is governed by a Supream Providence, we must conclude, that more astonishing and extraordinary Events, not only fall not out by chance, but are directed for some great ends, proportioned to such means. If either an Accident, or a Combination of cursed Men, first kindled this Fire, yet the Wind that waited on it, and drove it forward with such violence, that neither the many Hands that were employed to quench it, the Neighbourhood of so much Water, the Engines used, and all the other means that could be thought on, were effectual to stop its Rage, till it had done its Work, was a manifest Indication of the Hand of God in it. And how much soever Mens thoughts may be now blunted on this Subject, yet then, as I have understood from those that saw it, there were few that look'd on, that seemed not touch'd with the apprehensions of God's displeasure. Many that were not immediately concerned in it, yet smote on their Breasts, and said, *This is of God, let us return to Him.*

I shall not enlarge on the Description of it, or of the unexpected stopping of it in many places, even in the midst of very combustible Matter; so that the quenching of it had almost as manifest Characters of a Divine Appointment on it, as the Conflagration it self. It would very ill become one that saw it not, to spend much Discourse about it to those that saw it, and as it is to be presumed, will never forget it, but will tell it to the succeeding Age; as God commanded the *Israelites* to convey down to Posterity, the remembrance of the Captivity they had groaned under in *Egypt*, with the signal Deliverance out of it: for things of so extraordinary a nature ought never to be forgotten.

I know it is not fit, upon every Calamity to enter into the Secrets of God's Providence, nor to determine what were, and were not the procuring Causes: or what were the more principal ones. In these Cases men of several Parties, have always found out somewhat in which they thought themselves least concerned, and have been willing to load that with the whole burden of God's Indignation; and so upon this occasion, Men have

have not been wanting to assign such Causes, as might make those from whom they differed more hateful. But who has said, *What have I done?* And indeed though we may err in saying, one thing more than another drew down this Judgment on us, and in the enumeration of the Causes of it, may fail in the Account; yet it is certain, that when we lay them all together, and more particularly reflect on such of them, wherein we find our selves most concerned, we are in the readiest way to prevent the like, or heavier Judgments, from coming on us for the future. It were also a vain and bold Presumption in any, to enquire into this Secret, Why this City more than others, or these parts of it more than others, were burnt down? Our Saviour, by his Answer upon the like occasion, concerning those whose blood Pilate mixed with their Sacrifices, or those on whom the Tower of Siloab fell, takes all men off from such Curiosities, suggesting to them a more profitable Meditation: *I tell you, Nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.* In general, we are certain that God afflicts us not willingly; and so, without a more particular enquiry, we may conclude, that there were great reasons for this awakening Dispensation. And therefore, instead of looking backward any longer, I now proceed to the Second Point, to examine, What effects this or the like Providences have produced upon us? And whether we have returned to the Lord, or not?

I shall confine my Discourse to those three Heads, on which the Prophet founds his Charge, *Irreligion, Luxury, and Unrighteousness*; and shall desire you to bear with the Plainness, which becomes such a Subject, and such an Occasion. I cannot say upon the first Head, of *Religion*, that the chief part of the Prophet's Accusation concerns us: for the Sins of *Dan* and *Bethel* do not belong unto us; we have not set up a new Way of Religion, different from that appointed by God; we have not been guilty of any open Idolatry, in Worshipping the Works of Mens hands, or of making any resemblance of that invisible Being whom we adore. But in the Head of Religion, I shall name other things, wherein we have been as far from returning to God, as the Ten Tribes were.

First, They minded nothing but the external Pageantry, the Musick, and other outward Performances, and were weary often of these, so that their solemn Days were Abominations to God. And now if we look among our selves, though there may be

perhaps more care in this great City, than in any of the World, about the decent Observation of the Sabbath ; this is the Magistrates Glory, who do so carefully restrain the Violation of that holy Time ; yet many of those, who in compliance with Custom go to Church, do it meerly for Form. But if we examine what these Assemblies amount to, for the greatest part, we cannot think but God abhors and despises them. Many go to them only for Custom ; others, to shew their vain Apparel, and dress themselves with such gaudy Pomp, as if it were a Play. rather than the Worship of God, they went to bear a share in. I speak not against modest Decency and Cleanness ; but the vanity of many Peoples Dress is no small Scandal to our Churches, who not only gratify their own Pride, but do all they can to distract and tempt others

In the Worship of God , how little serious are we in all the parts of it ? We confess our Sins without Contrition, we pray without Devotion, we praise God without Affection , we hear the Scriptures without Faith : So in a word, all is but Form, and even of that we grow soon weary. Any excuse serves us, either to be absent, or to come late. The too visible coldness of most Peoples behaviour shew their Hearts join not with their Bodies or their Lips in the Worship of God. For Sermons, they are hearkened to, as other Discourses are, which we either censure or commend, as we see cause, or perhaps sleep all the while : But if we do mind them, it is for most part rather to furnish our selves with some Notion, to maintain Discourse, and to gratify our Vanity, than to be truly edified by them. And what we hear that more immediately concerns our selves, we put off, perhaps, with a slight Groan, and may be say within our selves, *God be merciful to us, we are all Sinners.* Do we think God is pleased or can be delighted with such Assemblies ?

For the two Sacraments, the Devotion of the one is almost quite gone, it becomes a matter of Entertainment, and is used as a Ceremony that brings much Cost with it ; the Sponsors considering more the Fees they are to give, than the Vows they make ; and these being so slightly made, no wonder they are slightly performed. It is true, the other Sacrament is kept up with a little more seriousness, some more Preparation and Devotion, but because People are a little apprehensive of this, many take the best course they can to ease themselves of it, and do
not

not receive in many years, unless the Law of the Land make it necessary, which is by too many more considered than the Laws of Christ in his holy Gospel. If we sum all these together, and reflect on the Coldness and Deadness we are all guilty of, in our Religion and religious Worship, can we think that we have yet returned to the Lord? Can such a dead lifeless way of serving him, be acceptable to him, that knows how far our Hearts are from him, when we draw near to him with our Lips? Can he take pleasure in these Assemblies, which, as all Forms must be, that are not enlivened by an internal Devotion, grow burdensome to our selves; and are only kept up as a Compliance, either to Custom, or some Remainder of a natural Religion, that we have not been able to extinguish quite in our Consciences, after many Attempts made to sear them.

But to all this it may be opposed, Are not we zealous for the Reformation? Sure all this Heat and Flame must rise from true Religion? I deny not, but this great City has been on all occasions very forward in expressing their Zeal for the Reformation; but even upon this Head, God has not a few things to charge us with. St. Paul tells us of a Zeal of a far higher Strain, than I am afraid ours rises to, even of *giving ones Body to be burnt*; which ^{1 Cor. 13.} yet would profit nothing, if it flowed not from true *Charity*. So if our Heat about Religion rise not from a true and internal Love to it, God may make it useful to others, but it shall avail us nothing. The Corruptions of true Religion, in all Times, have risen from this, That those who would not submit to the necessary, but hard and difficult parts of it, have studied to cheat themselves, and if they could, to bribe God, by setting up in room of these, some more easie and pompous things, which their Circumstances qualified them for, and they have spent much of their Wealth and Heat upon these. Some have adorned Churches, and adulterated several parts of Religion, by the Splendor they have added to them; Some have been very exact in external Performances; others have taken pleasure even in rigours on themselves, and others have been active and zealous in that Cause, which they took to be the Cause of God. According to the difference of Mens Constitutions, so they have chosen various Ways, that did most sute with their Tempers, and by a great Zeal about these, have pacified those Clamours, which otherwise are apt to rise in a guilty Conscience. The Sanguine love Pageantry; the
Flegma.

A SERMON Preached

Flegmatick the dull returns of their Forms; the Melancholly affect Severities; and the Cholerick are peevish and passionate, and think those Heats that are natural to them, are Sacrifices of great value with God. But will he accept of these from such defiled hands?

I know, those that are inwardly possessed with the Love of God and their Neighbour, and have a just sense of the Love their Redeemer hath shewed them, must have a very lively concern in those things that relate to his Glory, and the Salvation of our Souls. But if we only put on a heat, and counterfeits a Zeal, where there is no good Principle under it, this is but to mock God, and think to pay him with false Coin, because it has the superscription of the true. If our Zeal is only Passion or Faction, then to offer this up to God, is to bring wild Fire, and kindle it on his Altar.

There are two sad Indications, that declare the Zeal of the greatest part is no better: The one is, that the rest of their Lives are not of a piece with their Zeal. It is an impudent thing for any to pretend, that he is concerned that others should glorify God, when he is so ready to dishonour him himself; or that the sincere Belief, or pure Way of Worship, may be preserved, when he so cares, as if he neither believed in his Heart, nor worshipped God in his Spirit. God is not mocked; but discerns through all our Disguises, the secret Thoughts and Intents of our Hearts. I speak not this to cool or lessen your Zeal for the Reformation, but to direct it aright, that it being fixed on a better Principle than either Passion or Interest, may have a deeper root, and a stronger operation, may be more acceptable with God, and more effectual by his Blessing: which cannot be expected to Hypocritical Pretences, or at best, the Fermentation of Revenge or Interest.

Another sad Symptom, that shews our Zeal about Religion is not what it ought to be, appears in these unnatural Heats, that grow every day among our selves, for things, of which to speak modestly, a Man must say, they deserve not that warmth which we bestow on them. If a Man is so far free from the Contagion which most are infected with, by being of a Party, as to consider the things themselves, he cannot but stand amazed, to see Men, who agree in all the Substantials of Religion, quarrel so violently about some external and less important Matters, when the

the Enemy is at the Gates. It was one of the clearest Demonstrations of the Wrath of God on *Jerusalem*, that during their last Siege, the Faction were so high within, that as they had any respite from the Enemy without, they were destroying one another. They would not know the things that belonged to their Peace in time, and so they were hid from their Eyes in the day of their Visitation. When the *African Churches* were ready to be devoured by the *Vandals*, who besides the Barbarity of their Tempers, were *Arrians* by their Religion; The Schism of the *Donatists* did so rage, and was managed with such heat, too much of both Sides, as St *Austin* laments, that it was a manifest sign of their approaching Ruin; yet that holy Father, with the other Bishops of that time, made great Offers for comprehending the *Donatists* within the Unity of the Church; one was, to take them into a share of their Functions, and that the Survivor should be the sole Pastor. But secular Men enflamed the Differences, and the Governors punished the *Donatists* so severely, that St. *Austin* wrote often to them, to stop these violent Proceedings. But that holy man dyed, while *Hippo* was besieged, and the Prop of these Churches being removed, they soon became a Prey to their cruel Enemies, who brought them all under a most terrible and undistinguish'd Persecution.

Lib. 1. con.
Parm. cap.
7. lib. 3 con.
Petil c. 49,
50.

Epist 60,
127, 158,
159, 160.

When the *Mahometan* Impiety, and *Saracen* Empire, was spreading in the East, the *Greek* Empire fell into such Divisions and Animosities about the Will of Christ, and the Use of Images, that disjoyned them one from another, and made way for the growth of *Mahometanism*. Shall we follow these Patérns so carefully, as if we were afraid to miss such Calamities as fell on them? Are we so little sensible of the Advantages we give our Enemies, and the weakning we bring upon our selves by such Jealousies and Heartburnings? St. *Paul*, when the *Corinthians* following their just Law-Suits before Unbelievers, brought thereby a scandal on Christianity, charged them rather to suffer Wrong, than that a Brother should go to Law with a Brother. If such things, which had a foundation in Justice and Property, were to be forborn for their Indecency; O how much more reasonable is it now for those who publish the glad Tidings of Peace, to lift up their Voices as a Trumpet, to sound a Retreat from this ungodly War in our Church, and to call Men off from their unreasonable Heats, to a greater Calm and Temper, when the Effects of them are like to be so fatal.

1 Cor. 6.
5, 6.

It

It has been the Device of the Church of *Rome*, both to keep Unity within her self, and to foment Differences among others, ever since the Reformation. They have Differences among them of a far higher nature than any we have among us. The most material Differences in Matters of Doctrine, that have raised the greatest Animosities in this Island, have been about the Nature of Divine Grace, and the Order of the Decrees of God : but those have been carried as high, if not higher, in the Church of *Rome*. I need not mention the many Differences among the several Families of the Schoolmen, who have invented various Explanations of almost all the Mysteries of their Religion, and have defended their Sentiments with as little Modesty of Language, as many of our Writers do ; yet all this has not broken their Church. In that which is to them the fundamental Point of their Religion, *Where the supreme Power of judging Controversies infallibly is lodged*; tho' they all agree against us, that there must be a living infallible Judge, yet they do not agree in whom this Power is placed. Many set up the Pope ; others are so ashamed of this, that they are for the Council, without the Pope ; and others chuse a middle way, and are for ascribing it to the Pope and Council together : And yet if the Council has either the Infallibility entirely, or has any share in it, so that it is no where without its concurrence, then they have no infallible Judge, it being 115 years since they had a General Council, and 'tis like to be much longer before another comes.

I need not enlarge on their other Differences, either the ancienter Contests concerning the Immaculate Conception of the B. Virgin, which were not only supported by ordinary Reasonings, but by Pretences to Visions and Revelation ; and the latter Contests, that are yet depending at the Court of *Rome*, concerning the Morals of the Jesuits, and other modern Casuists : All these shew the Varieties among them in Matters of Doctrine.

Those who have Travelled among them, and narrowly observ'd their Customs, see that there are no small Diversities in the Rites and Forms of their Worship. Every Nation, and every Religious Order, has some Rites that are peculiar to them ; and tho' the *Roman* Office is now used most commonly, yet as the *Ambrosian* continued long at *Millain*, and the *Mozarabick* in some parts of *Spain* ; so here in *England*, the Southern parts followed the Use of *Sarum* ; the Northern, the Use of *York* ; *South-wales*, the Use
of

of *Hereford*; and *North-Wales* the Use of *Bangor*; besides a peculiar Use that *Lincoln* had for that large Diocess. All which shew how willing they were to knit all People to their Communion, indulging them some peculiar Rites, either different from, or added to the rest. So well have they studied the Policy of keeping their whole Strength united together, against those they call Hereticks, and their common Enemies; tho' they have not been able to bring all their Votaries to an Uniformity, either in Points of Doctrine, or the Forms of Worship.

They have no less industriously blown upon and improved all the Differences among the Reformed, to break them among themselves. Could so small a matter, as the Difference about the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, (which was only a speculative part, since their Worship did not differ) have so divided the *Lutheran* and *Helvetian* Churches, if some secret Practices of theirs had not wrought on the Weakness and Passions of some angry Men? The *Papists* saw this as well on the one hand, as the Princes and soberer Divines perceived it on the other. At one Publick Conference, appointed by the Diet of the Empire, between *Papists* and *Protestants*, for settling Religion, the *Papists* knowing their weak Side, and desirous to throw a Bone among them, proposed, that they should first agree to condemn the *Helvetians*. *Melancthon* perceived what this aimed at, and so studied to divert it, but other peevish Divines grew so hot about it, that they broke up the Meeting, to the no small joy of the Popish Party.

History of
the Council of
Trent.
lib. 5. An.
1557.

How far they may have practised among us to inflame our Differences, I shall not determine, but I am sure there is nothing we can possibly contrive, more both to their Advantage and Satisfaction, than this is. The Heathen Philosophers had different Schools, but worshipped in the same Temples. The Primitive Christians differed in many Customs, both about the Observation of *Easter* and *Lent*, with many other various Rites; but they never broke the Bond of Peace and Perfection, the Unity of the Church till the Bishops of *Rome* began to lay their Yoke upon the other Churches. It were a great happiness to be exactly of the same mind: and such as differ from the Publick Constitution, ought certainly to examine the ground of these Differences, with calm and unprejudiced minds: And to pronounce my own opinion freely, and without reserves, I am very confident if that were

done, with the Care and Application that is requisite, the Truth would soon appear to be of our Church's side: and if there be yet any Defects in our Constitution, or any thing that requires Amendment or Improvement; as no doubt, none ever was since the Apostles days that needed it not; then let clear Reason, and calm, but steady Endeavours be used for compleating or ordering what is wanting or amiss among us; which his late Glorious Majesty offered to redress, for settling this Church. And it will seem strange, if any who Glory so much, and so justly, in the Honour the Church Received by so great a Testimony, as his Martyrdom gave it, should not follow those Thoughts, which He, after a long course of Sufferings, and deep and devout study about them, had taken up; a due difference being made between the things that he offered in compliance to the heat of that time, and the more retired Reflections himself had.

But if so great a Happiness, as a compleat Unity cannot be attained to, let us, at least, lay aside our Unnatural, Unchristian, and unpolitic Animosities; condescending to the Infirmities of the Weak, and pitying them rather than insulting over them: Let such mutual allowances be given as Human Infirmary, the weakness of many mens Reasons, the strength of their Passions, and the force of Prejudice and Education require. And if we will so order our Zeal, that its first and chief Operation be on our selves, reforming our lives, and purifying our Hearts, and then apply it proportionably to other things, giving to every part of Religion such a share of it as the importance of the thing requires; then a great deal of our heat would be soon allayed

But to speak plainly; Is it a Christian Zeal to disseminate Lies and Scandals? To expose men that have deserved highly, for some supposed Mistakes? These things ought not so to be. If these that run about with the greatest violence, blowing on such sparks, would examine themselves, as in the presence of God, what is the secret cause or spring of all their Motions, I am sure much of it will be found to flow from bitter Envy and Strife, which bring on Confusion and every evil work: and not from the Wisdom that is from above, and is first pure and then peaceable, and easy to be intreated. And as we ought in meekness instruct those that oppose themselves; so others should not express too great uneasiness at the instructions we offer them.

Jam 3. 16,
17.

1 Tim. 13.
25.

If we will reflect on the high value our Saviour set on our loving one another, that thereby *all men should know that we are his* Joh 13.
Disciples, it would soon change our Temper; so that being ashamed of our former Contests, if we could not of a sudden come to think the same things, yet the same Spirit of Meekness, Humility and Charity dwelling in us, we should soon grow up into one Body: from which we are not kept, so much by the Differences themselves that we dispute about, as by that Alienation of Mind, which hath so violently rent us from one another. And this makes that for all the Evils which we have either felt, or do still fear, instead of accusing or condemning our selves, we lay the blame wholly upon others. The City blames the Country, and the Country the City: We of the Church blame those of the Separation, and they of the Separation blame us of the Church: But alas! who look into their own Consciences, and humble their selves before God!

This Evil is of the Lord, therefore let us turn to him with our whole Heart: and we shall certainly feel, that as a spirit of true and real Holiness rises in us, we shall grow above these Contests for small matters. For God seems to punish us with this division of Language and Heart, as he did the Builders of *Babel*, for our other sins; since without a stroke from Heaven, a common measure of Infatuation could not carry this so far.

And now I go to the next particular charged by the Prophet on these Tribes, wherein they had not returned unto the Lord: That was *Luxury*. They had rebuilt their Houses, furnished them gloriously, and surfeited themselves with their Plenty: which they abused by their excessive Intemperance, both in eating, drinking, and in other Jollities; being insensible of the Judgments of God, that had either fallen on them, or were hanging over them. And in this, how parallel are our sins to theirs? This City is rebuilt with an increase of *Luxury*, as well as Order and Beauty: How many do exceed their Rank and Condition, the many Breakings do too manifestly declare: few are contented to live in that moderate Frugality and Decency that their Ancestors used; and complain of want and decay of Trade, because there comes not in enough to supply their Vanities, or to serve their *Luxury*. The Intemperance that abounds is too notorious to be much insisted on: as if those Liquors which God hath blessed us with, for refreshing and restoring our Spirits, were to be used

either for the inflaming of our Lusts, the depressing our Reasons, impairing our Healths, and the profuse wasting of our Time and Estates. Inventions also must be fallen on for the decent forcing others to the like Excesses, by setting Healths about. A practice so ridiculously Brutal, that it were a loss of words to go to expose it: Hereby men are not satisfied to Gratify their own Intemperance, but must lay snares for others. And how studiously do these Agents for Vice, endeavour to corrupt all that are so unhappy as to fall in their ill Company; training them on by degrees, till they have raised them to the like pitch of Impiety with themselves. To this is joyned the Excess and Curiosity of Entertainments, which has been long accounted one of the special Vices of this City. Our Bodies when nourished in the most moderate manner, and kept down with Exercise, yet are apt enough to raise many Temptations in us: which we ought not to cherish, by laying in a too plentiful provision for the Flesh, with its Lusts and Affections. When People give themselves up to all the incentives to Lust, and by Jollities, Musick, Balls, Drinking and Feasting, have laid themselves out to so many Temptations, and prepared so much fuel within for these impure Flames to work on; it is no wonder that all excess of Riot and Wantonness should follow such Disorders. The Indecencies of both Sexes going to Taverns, the corruption of a defiled Stage, the gross Liberties which many take, have now run us into such a mire of Filth and Sensuality, that it is scarce decent to rake in that kennel: and to speak of the things that are done, alas, not in secret, but in the sight of the Sun; *Shall not God visit for these things?* Have we yet returned unto him? or do we not go on to dare Heaven, and work all manner of Abominations with greediness. And while such Vices abound, and so many Judgments hang over us, who is betaking himself to Fasting and Prayer? who hath cut off any of his former Excesses, or is accusing himself? Sin and Lewdness are still growing, and it's like will go on, till, as the Prophet threatens, *God shall make your Sun to go down at Noon, and darken the Earth in the clear day.* Poetical Expressions for unlook'd for Miseries. *Then he will turn your Feasts unto mourning, and all your Songs unto Lamentations:* and instead of the vanities of your Apparel, and the costly dresses on your Heads, *will bring Sackcloth on all your loyns, and baldness on all your beads, and make your mourning to be like the mourning of an only Son.*

The

The third thing for which the Prophet accuses the ten Tribes, is, that which Luxury must carry with it, to support it; their *Injustice and Oppression*. A man that spends profusely on himself, as he disables himself from giving the Poor such a share of his wealth as he ought to do; so he grows unable to perform those stricter Duties of Justice and Equity to his Neighbours with whom he deals. Men that will live high, must maintain it by all possible means: If the cheating, even a Friend, the Sophisticating corrupted Goods, the defrauding Creditors, by covering one with some Protection, or pretending he breaks, to force Abatements of just Debts, or perhaps the profuse wasting both his own Stock, and the Stocks with which others have trusted him, become necessary to furnish out his Luxury and Vanity, he sticks at none of them. I do not doubt but the Regulations made in this great City are as exact and well considered as in any such City in the World; but as long as the high way of living continues, many unrighteous things must be invented for defraying that Expence. Justice and Righteousness are among the first Elements of Virtue, which Nature does so early teach all men; and are so necessary to the Peace and Government of the World, that we do very impudently pretend to the high things of Religion, if we have not begun with these which are the lowest steps to it. If Trade is carried on by Lying, Cheating, Sophisticating, Extortion, and unregulated Usury, can a Blessing be expected from Heaven, on Wealth so acquired? If men make *their Weights small, and falsify their Balances by Deceit*, so 8. ch. 5, 6, that they sell the Poor bread, shall God forget these things? shall not the 8. v. land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein? If the Mystery of some Trades consists in the Cheats of them; if Retailing is manag'd by lying; if Debts are paid by cozenage and fraud; if Bargains are made after too much Wine hath numbed or over-heated the Spirits of the one Party, of which the other takes the advantage; if men have ever so much wealth, and cunning both in acquiring and preserving it; yet according to the Prophetical expressions in the Ninth Chapter, *Though they dig unto hell God will take them thence, and though they climb up unto Heaven he will bring them down; though they hide themselves on the tops of Mountains, he will search and take them out from thence, and if they should lie as close as in the Bottom of the Sea, he will command a serpent to bite them.* 9. ch. 2. 3. In these Points we ought on such days of Humiliation, if we intend not to add the Mockery of these to our other

other Sins, to examine our selves, as in the Presence of God, and see whether we have either departed from our old Sins, or instead of doing that, do not only continue in them, but contract new Guilt. If we will break the Yokes of Oppression and Injustice, if we convert what formerly went to our Luxury and Vanity, and apply it to the Necessity of our poor Brethren; and if instead of these Forms (in the repeating which we have too long placed all our Religion) and of our bitter Heats, we do follow *Peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord*: then when we pray to him, he will hear our Prayers, *our Light shall shine out under all that Darkness, that now covers us; God shall guide us continually, and so satisfy our souls, that we shall delight our selves in him and his Service.*

But if we will still continue in our Sins, and satisfy our selves with so slight a way of serving God, then we may look for either the like, or heavier Judgments: which is the third thing I proposed to speak to; *Therefore thus will I do unto thee.* All the Corrections that God lays on us, are to amend us, but if these prevail not, then other severer means must be used for the same end, more searching Medicines when gentler ones cannot raise or carry off the Humours; and in Conclusion, God often makes those Nations on whom he had bestowed the most discriminating Marks of his Favour, the most publick Instances of his Justice, as he did the *Jews* of old, for their Idolatry, and the *Roman Empire*, after they had so strangely corrupted the Christian Religion: more signal Judgments being perhaps the only means left to work on some, whom indulgent Providences do not prevail with; who indeed can be awakened by nothing, but Thunder and Lightning. In the Government of the World, the Methods of divine Providence are so mysterious, that it very ill becomes us, to take on us to judge how things shall fall out; yet since *Solomon* has observ'd that there is nothing new *under the Sun*, and by what has been, we may collect what may be; there are two things threatned by this Prophet; *a Famine, not of Bread, nor a Thirst for Water, but of hearing the Word of the Lord*: so that they should wander from Sea to Sea, and run to and fro to seek it, but should not find it. The other was, that they should go unto Captivity before their Enemies, where God should command the Sword that it should slay them, and he would set his Eyes on them for Evil and not for Good. It is worth our time to consider what we may expect either of these ways.

As

As for a Famine of the Word of the Lord, whether it shall come upon us, from that Religion, which openly professes its Design to be to take the Scripture out of the hands of the People, or from any other hand; we have reason enough to look for it, when we consider how horridly we have neglected and abused it. The greatest part never trouble themselves about it, and, perhaps, since their first Education and Childhood, have never looked on it; others have read it, and fixed it more carefully in their Memories, but rather than by talking in that Style, they may conceal their Villanies; and by the Misapplication of it, excuse their Errors and Faults: but how few read it with a plain Simplicity of mind, to receive Instruction and Light from it, and to kindle greater Warmth of Affection in them, from the many excellent Passages in it: which what Effect soever they may have on vulgar Readers, are, to those that read them, with a well disposed Mind, strong and sharp as a two edged Sword. It cannot be denied, but Religion, among us, has lost much of its Force and Authority; and many, seeing thorough the Hypocrisy of one sort, and the Formality of another, have come to imagine, that there is nothing in it but either Custom or Interest. And I wish the great Scandals that our Contests have given to all men of clear and disengaged Reasons, may not have occasioned or increased this in a great Measure. Universally the Gospel is preached and heard without that Sense, which a thing of such high Consequence deserves; for certainly, it must be acknowledged, that either Christianity is a Contrivance or Dream, or that it is the most important thing in the World. How far other Accidents may deprive us of this, of which the Force and Efficacy is, in a great part, gone, we do not know: whether downright Atheism, or the disbelief of all revealed Religion, which has got such footing among us; or other extravagant Concoits of extirpating a Gospel-Ministry, as the decentest Introduction to these, may not bring us within this Curse, I shall not play the Diviner: but the great rage by which many endeavour to make the Clergy hateful and contemptible, with a Concurrence of some other things, seems to give just Apprehensions, that we may live yet to see such days.

I confess, on the other hand, the Appearances seem more probable and threatening, that we shall be brought under the Tyranny of that Church, that can never hope to advance her Interests,

but

but by suppressing this Light, by prohibiting the Scriptures, and perswading the World to deliver up their Faith and Conscience to the keeping and governing of their Priests; for who can go over to them, till his Mind is so loaded with Prejudices, that he dares not use his Understanding and Reason? Can any man believe that a Bishop, chosen with all the craft and intrigue that can be used among the cunningest Statesmen in the World, should be presently the Head of the Church, the Universal Pastor, St. Peter's Successor, and the Supreme Judge of all Controversies? who though he understand no Divinity, and practises as little Morality, yet must decide all Controversies of Religion; and that in his Sentence all must acquiesce. He that can believe this, is well enough prepared to go over to them, and to believe the only thing I know, which is more incredible; that a Priest by virtue of a Character given him, which is every whit as unintelligible as this great Effect of it, can, by pronouncing of five words, make a piece of Bread and a little Wine, become the whole and entire Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ; so that it is all in every crumb and drop of it. These are things to which men must be long and well prepared, before they can think they believe them: for it may be justly made a Question, Whether they do, or indeed can believe them? This Religion must of necessity, for its own support, extinguish the Light of the Scriptures: in which, the part that came more immediately, than any other, from God himself, has not escaped their Expurgation: I mean, the ten Commandments; of which, the Second, one of the fullest and most copious of them, is left out of their Catechisms; because it must have cleansed the Churches of Images, and the many Monuments of Idolatry, with which they have defiled it. And in the New Testament, that part of it on which they have built most, is yet so contrary to one of their Devices, that it was fit for them not to let the People understand it. I mean the Institution of the Eucharist, in which Christ said, *Drink ye all of this*, when he gave his Disciples the Cup. They had also made their Worship so ridiculous, by the many strange Legends read on the Saints days, to which both the Collects and Anthems for these Offices do relate, that it had been hard to have brought the People to hear these things gravely: Therefore it was very fit, for these ends, to have their Worship in an unknown Tongue: tho' St. Paul has written so copiously on that Subject, that it is not
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ease to imagine how their minds are compos'd who believe that he was inspir'd, and yet approve of a Worship, in a Language not understood by the People.

But after all these Corruptions of theirs, why should we not think it reasonable to believe, that since we have given our selves up to some of the worst Effects of Popery, God should abandon us so far, as to suffer us to come again under that yoke from which, by a mighty hand he delivered our Fathers? While we worship him meerly out of Form, what difference is there between that and the *telling of Beads*? If we think a loose Life may, by a few touches of Sorrow, be so expiated, that these shall carry us to Heaven, is not this almost as bad as to believe *Attrition is sufficient to Salvation*? If we think our coming to Church, or Sacrament, will save us, is it not as bad as their *Opus operatum*? If we blindly deliver our selves up to a Party, and follow all its Interests, what better is this than their *Implicit Obedience*? and if we allow our selves in that rage and violence, by which many carry on their Opinions, seeking the Ruin of all who differ from them, and spare no Methods, how false or cruel soever they be; This is not far from their *Extirpating of Hereticks*, and *saying, there is no Faith to be kept to them*. If by these and many more particulars, we examine how much the Spirit of Popery doth still leaven us, many of those who seem most heartily oppos'd to it, will be found deeply tinctured with it: And if we are secretly corrupted with some of the worst Principles of that Religion before we are aware of it, the other parts will more easily follow. Our Doctrine and Worship are *Reformed*: That we owe to the last Age, and to our Educations: But if our Hearts and Lives are vitiated by the same ill Principles, under another disguise, it will not be so great a Leap as some men imagine to get over that Gulf.

Here is one danger before us: it is a great one indeed, and perhaps the very Methods some may use to secure us from it, may precipitate us headlong unto it. *Caiaphas* advis'd the *Jews* to kill our Saviour, fearing that upon his pretending to be a King, the *Romans* might come and take that place; But this did so provoke God, that what they feared, came upon them: so whether some by over bending their Zeal and Fervour, may not overthrow a Church, which has been, ever since the Reformation began, the greatest Bulwark against Popery, and drive things much fur-

ther than at present they intend or imagine, I leave it to the thoughts of wiser men.

The other thing threatned by the Prophet, is their being led unto Captivity, and given up to the Sword. Our present Wealth and Plenty, the Situation of our Country, the strength of our Fleets, and the Natural Bravery of the Nation, may seem perhaps to raise us beyond the fear of it: *England* never having been higher in Trade, our Plantations never stronger and better peopled, our Dominions never more extended, and our Shipping going from under one end of Heaven to another. But alas! if God blast our publick Councils, and strike us at home with such a Division of Heart, that we cannot agree in things that are necessary for common Safety; all our wealth makes us but a more inviting Prey, either for a *Tyre* or *Sidon*, that may be near us, who would gladly carry our Trade from us; or for a great Conqueror that hovers over any of his Neighbours, to spy from whence he can receive an Addition to his Empire and *Glory*. And if God intends to give us up to Captivity, he will take away the Heart from our Counsellors, and Spirit and Courage from our Armies and Fleets; as the Prophets threatned the *Israelites* often, that those to whom God was to deliver them up, should come upon them with so unresistable a Force, and meet with so faint an Opposition, that they should easily fall into their hands.

There is nothing in which the over-ruling Force of divine Providence shews it self more than in the rising and falling of Empires; in which we find often, great Kingdoms subdued by a small Force, while the one were elevated with more than ordinary Courage, and the other side, by a Series of odd Accidents, as much depressed: so that vast Treasures and great Armies have melted to nothing; and sometimes without any visible Fault in the Conduct; where no rational Account can be given, but that Heaven was on the one side. If God is against us, he needs no Instruments to chastise us with, he can either by binding or opening the Clouds or Winds of Heaven, blast all the Fruits of our Industry or Trade: he can bring out of the Dust of the Earth, Swarms of Vermin to plague us; he can discharge his Arrows, and again send the Plague or a Fire among us, or so give us up to Madness and Disorder, that we shall again fall in unnatural Wars at home, and destroy one another.

Some of these Dangers are not so remote, as to be look'd upon

as the dark Dreams of melancholly men, or the Speculations of a disturbed Fancy; what has been may be, and is, perhaps, nearer than we imagine. I shall not increase your Horror at the Return of such things, by a Pompous and Tragical Description of them; you need but reflect on what you have seen and known of many of them: and what if these shall return upon us again? What if this fruitful and peaceable Land, be again made a Field of Blood, and be watered on both sides, by the Blood of *Englishmen*, Brotherfighting against Brother, till being thus weakned at home, we become an easy Acquisition, to those who long for such a Breach among our selves? And does not the Prospect of these things affect us? What remains then, but that I conclude with the fourth particular, of which I proposed to speak, that our turning to God, is that which only can prevent those Judgments that we cannot resist. There is no Counsel nor Divination against God, he makes the Diviners mad, and brings the Counsels of the Heathen to nothing; he makes the Devices of the people, of none effect: we can neither withstand his Power, defeat his Wisdom, nor escape his hand; we can only humble our selves before him, and turn to him with our whole Hearts; and thereby avert all that storm of heavy Wrath, that is ready to burst out upon us. If there were a general turning from the evil of our ways, from the Intemperance, Uncleanneſs, Injustice, and Impieties, that have so long prevailed among us; then how soon would all these dreadful Symptoms of God's Displeasure fall off? Upon the Repentance of *Nineveh*, those Judgments which were so near, that the short period of forty days were prefixed to them, were put off to a longer time: The external, but feigned Humiliation of *Abab*, procured to him a Reprieve of that Sentence the Prophet had denounced. So if there were but a cessation from those horrid Impieties by which God is so highly dishonoured, and of those publick and avowed Vices which no Christian Nation practises now more openly than we do; and which have, in a great measure, taken our Spirit and Sense from us; we might hope for a longer continuance of that Tranquility, which we still enjoy. But if no warnings will prevail, if neither past Calamities, nor threatned Miseries, nor the sense which some, who have gone in the same excess of *Riot*, have expressed of it when they were near Death, will work on a wicked generation, it seems such are already under that Curse given in Com-

mission

Esa. 6. 10. mission to *Esaia*, *Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes and hear with their ears and understand with their hearts, and convert and be healed:* and that this shall last till the Cities be wasted without Inhabitants, the houses without men, and the Land be utterly desolate. Words expressing the highest Indignation possible against such Sinners, who had long abused the Patience of God, and had mocked him, by drawing near to him with their Lips, when their hearts were far from him.

But if the greatest part will still go on in their Sins, till they perish by them; yet if there were but a small number that would seriously set themselves to turn to God, by Prayer, Fastings, Supplications, and engaging in a course of strict and fervent Devotion, and so stand in that Breach which our sins and Divisions have opened; and instead of looking after News, or expecting much from Humane Councils, till God's Anger were appeased, would cry mightily to him; these might be the happy Preservers and Deliverers of their Country, at least from present Danger. Or if the Sins of *England* are such, that God will not be entreated, even of these, but will give such evidences of his Displeasure, that all shall say, *Verily there is a God that judges in the Earth*, yet such mourners shall not lose their labour: their Tears and Prayers shall return upon themselves; they shall at the least have their own Souls for a prey, and may be blessed Instruments of gaining some few about them; who, though they may be involved in the common Calamity, yet shall find Mercy in the day of the Lord. God grant there may be many such among us and that for their sakes, *he may raise up the Tabernacle of his Anointed, and close up the breaches of it, and build it up as in the former times:* and so establish us in this good Land, which he hath given us, that we may still enjoy the Blessings of his pure Religion and holy Word, with the continuance of our Peace and Plenty: and that if Evil be determined to come upon the Land, that we may not see it, but may be gathered to our Fathers in Peace. To God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be all Honour and Glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

chap. 9. v.
11.

F I N I S.



Ward Mayor.

*Martis primo die Februarii 1680. Annoq. Regis
Caroli secundi, Angliæ, &c. xxxiii.*

THis Court doth desire Dr. Burnet to Print
his Sermon Preached yesterday (being
the Anniversary commemoration of the Mar-
tyrdom of King Charles the First) at St. Lawrence
Church, before the Aldermen and Liveries of
the severall Companies of this City.

Wagstaffe.

9

A
SERMON

Preached before the
ALDERMEN
OF THE
City of London,

U AT
St. Lawrence-Church, Jan 30. 1680.

Being the day of the Martyrdome of
K. CHARLES I.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

LONDON,

Printed for Richard Chiswel at the Rose and Crown in
St. Paul's Church-yard. 1681.



STERN MON

Printed by

AND BIRMINGHAM

City of London,

7727:07

K. CHARLES I

BY ORDER OF THE



TO THE
Right Honourable
Sr. Patience Ward
LORD MAYOR of the City
of LONDON.

My Lord,

THE favourable account that was
brought your Lordship of this Ser-
mon (your self by an Indisposi-
tion being kept from bearing it) as it indu-
ced you to desire to see it in Print, which
seconded by the Order of the Court of Al-

A 3 dermen,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

dermen, does now make it appear in publick; so it will give a new discovery of the little credit that is due to Report: which though it errs more generally on the severer side, yet in this Instance was too partial to so poor a Performance.

But the Argument treated in it will cover many faults: Especially meeting with such Equitable Judges as your Lordship is. Since the acquitting the Reformed Religion of such a scandal as has been cast on it upon the account of that great wickedness then commemorated, and the persuading all Protestants to live in Peace and Love together, are subjects so acceptable to your Lordship, and so suitable to our present unhappy Circumstances, that the most imperfect Essay towards them will, I presume, be well received, and the Defects of it easily forgiven, by one that employs himself with so much Zeal and Fidelity in the securing our
Holy

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*Holy Religion, and the maintaining of
Truth and Peace in that Great City now
under your Lordships Government.*

*May the God of Truth and Peace lead
us into the way of his Truth, and make
us know the things that belong to our peace;
and may your Lordship be a great Instru-
ment in promoting it. This is earnestly
prayed for by*

My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble
and most obedient servant,

G. BURNET.

ZECHARY VIII. 19.

Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, The Fast of the Fourth month, and the Fast of the Fifth, and the Fast of the Seventh, and the Fast of the Tenth shall be to the House of Judah joy and gladness and cheerful Feasts; therefore love the Truth and Peace.

IT may be justly doubted whether horrid and unexampled crimes, ought not rather to be buried in oblivion, than be remembred, though with the greatest detestation possible. The mentioning them too often, may make them grow too familiar to our thoughts: and some may be tempted to like them, and approve what it is designed they should abhor: Yet on the other hand, some things carry in the first appearance of them, such odious characters, that the nature of man shrinks at the very mentioning them; so that the frequent remembring them will encrease the horror at them: and the shewing the precipice over which some have fallen, may warn others to beware of approaching too near it, for fear of the like ruine and destruction.

I acknowledge it were better if we could have Job's wish, *That that day should perish, that darkness and the shadow of death should cover it, that it should not see the dawn-*

dawning of the day, nor should the light shine upon it. It were better to strike it out of our Kalendar, and to make our *January* determine at the 29th, and add these remaining days to *February*. But alas! this cannot be done; we cannot wipe out this blot: what was done, can never be forgotten. It cannot by others, and by us it ought not to be forgotten. The whole world lookt on with amazement, not knowing whether more to admire the heinousness of the crime, the wickedness of the actors, or the patience and constancy of the sufferer. The cry was loud on Earth, but much louder in Heaven. The shrieks and tears of many good Subjects, and particularly in this *Great City*, which, as I have been informed, spent that day in a general mourning, and bitter lamentation and astonishment, followed it fast, to deprecate those judgements which such guilt gave them cause to apprehend: But the prayers of this *Martyr* went before it, for averting that Curse, which he feared should (but prayed that it might not) fall on his people. We have been since above twenty years putting up by publique authority, and in the name of the whole Nation, *David's Prayer*, *Deliver us from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of our Salvation*. So it may be now perhaps thought that after so long a continuance of mourning this sin is expiated, and the land purged from the defilement of it: Upon which some may ask the Question set down in the former Chapter, *Should I weep, separating my self as I have done these so many years?*

Chap. 7.3.

The *Jews* had during the seventy years of the Captivity Fasted in those months mentioned in my Text; the chief steps of that calamity which had so overwhelmed them having been made in these months. On the tenth month and the tenth day of the month (which

(which according to Arch-bishop *Usher* is, exactly our 30th of January) the King of *Babylon* besieged *Jerusalem*: he took it on the fourth month. It was burnt on the fifth month: and on the seventh month was *Gedaliah* killed: Upon which the few that were left behind, were broken among themselves, and dispersed. But of all these that on the fifth month was the most solemn Fast; and therefore when the Question was put concerning the continuance of the Fast, that is only mentioned: and no wonder: For the burning of the Temple, was not only a temporal calamity, but it deprived them of all the means of obtaining the favour of God, of expiating their sins by sacrifices, and of consulting the *Urim* and *Thummim*. It seemed reasonable enough for them to Fast during the Captivity, while they lay under the sensible effects of these judgements, which had broke out upon them in those days: But that being over, and they being again restored to their Native Countrey, it was no unreasonable thing for them to put the Question, whether that should be still kept up. To this three things are answered.

2 King. 25.
1.
Ibid. ver. 3.
Ibid. v. 8.
Ibid. v. 25.

First, That they had not Fasted aright on these days, *Ch. 7. v. 5.*
When ye fasted, and mourned in the fifth and seventh month, even these seventy years, did ye at all fast unto me, even unto me? Intimating that it had been only Pageantry and matter of form; they had perhaps hanged down their heads like a Bull-rush, put on Sack-cloth, and covered their heads with ashes, which were the usual rites of mourning among them: but there had been nothing done on those days, suitable to the occasion, for averting the wrath of God which had then broke out, and was still hanging over them.

Thid. 8, 9.

2 Cor. 17.

V. 16, 17.

Secondly, The Prophet directs them to do such things which became true penitents, and those that indeed afflicted their souls; to execute true judgement, and shew mercy and compassions every man to his neighbour, not to oppress the widow or the fatherless, the stranger nor the prisoner, and that none of them should imagine evil against his brother in his heart: and in this Chapter, that they should speak every man the truth to his neighbour, and execute the judgement of truth and peace in their Gates. This being done

The Third thing is in my Text, that upon their loving truth and peace, those black and mournful days should be converted to days of joy and gladness.

How these Anniversaries were first set up, and by what authority, whether by the direction of any Prophet, or by common agreement, does not appear to us. We have both the Institution and the continuance of another Anniversary a little before this expressly set down. Upon *Josiah's* death, *Jeremy* that foresaw what was to follow under the reigns of his degenerated issue, made a lamentation, and set it to be sung by the Quire of the mourners: upon which an Ordinance was made: and those lamentations continued in use to the day in which that Book of the *Chronicles* was writ: which, as appears by the last Verses, that mention the return of the Captivity under *Cyrus*, was above eighty years at least after *Josiah's* death: for his children reigned above ten years, and the Captivity lasted seventy; so long had that Anniversary been observed. And it seems to be almost a law of nature, to commemorate both mercies and judgements on those days in which they have been sent us.

2 Chron.
35. 25.

We of this Island have had occasion for Fasts on all these months: On the fourth month, reckoning according to the *Jewish* account, were the fatal Standards set up: On the seventh the horrid Massacre and Rebellion of *Ireland* broke out, and in *England* on that same day of the month, but a year after, the first Battel at *Edge-hill* was fought: On the tenth and on the tenth day of it was that wickedness done which we now mourn for: The King was murdered, and the Government wholly subverted: and on the fifth month were his Majesties Armies, that now reigns, defeated both at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*. It might have been expected that our 29th of *May* should have worn out the remembrance of the 30th of *January*, and now at the end of two and thirty years it may be reasonably asked, Should we still continue to Fast and mourn? Shall the yearly return of this black and dismal day, with the melancholy thoughts and reflections which accompany it, be for ever observed? Shall we convey this entail of sorrow to our posterity? Does this blood continue still to cry for vengeance, as the blood of *Abel* did: or as the *Jews* say the blood of *Zacharias* the son of *Jehojada* the High Priest, continued still to bubble on the floor of the Court of the Temple, where he was killed, till the Captivity, that many thousand Priests being killed on the place, the Earth drunk it up: and shall neither the execution of Justice on the Murderers, nor the Prayers of the whole Nation remove this guilt?

On this occasion it may be no improper thing to run out on the horridness of so unexampled a wickedness: but I hope it is needless: I hope all men carry still in their minds such a horror at that fact,
that

that their thoughts boil afresh within them at every time they reflect on it. Bloodshed without lawful authority fills the mind of the Criminal with black and terrible thoughts: and makes him oft a terrour to himself, so that either the dead Ghost, or the apprehensions of guilt, haunt and follow such till they grow even weary of life; since there can be no reparation made to the party injured: So that it is scarce possible for the Murderer to stop even the cry of Blood in his own Conscience. The Innocence, and the Dignity, and the Sacredness of the person Murdered, are vast aggravations: and if such a crime comes in the conclusion, after so great an effusion of blood, that it has run down like water; and above all, if the actors have done what they could to entitle God to it, doing it with the forms of Justice, so that in the *place of judgement and righteousness, there was iniquity and wickedness*, and by their high pretensions to Piety and Zeal for Religion, the enemies of all Religion have taken advantage to mock at true Holiness, and the enemies of the Reformed Religion have thought they were now furnished with somewhat, by which they might cast back that heavy but just imputation laid on them, of setting up the doctrines and encouraging the practices of deposing and killing of Kings, on the Protestants; All these things concur to aggravate this crime, *Blood defiles the land, and it cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it*: And by Moses law when that could not be found out, God appointed a solemn expiation to be made amongst the *Jews*, in the name of the whole Nation. Blood is of so crying a nature, that it is said of that shed by *Manasses*, that God would

Eccle 3. 16.

Numb. 35.
33.

Deut. 21.
6, 7, 8;
5, ver.

not pardon it : neither his late Repentance, nor the Reformation carried on by *Josiah* could avert those judgments, that were the just punishments of such heinous sins. All these things concur to give us a right sense of that guilt, which we now lament and endeavour to remove.

2 King. 24.

4.

It may be expected that I should in the next place enlarge on the Vertues, the Piety, Chastity, Temperance, the Magnanimity and Constancy of mind of this Murdered Prince. But the performing this as it ought to be, I confess, is a task above my strength : especially coming after so many who have done it with such life, that any thing I could add, would be but a flat repetition of what has been often much better said. And indeed we have his character given us in such true and lasting colours, in that *Picture* which he drew for himself, in his *solitudes and sufferings*, that it is perhaps a piece of presumption to take up the Pencil again, and to add any touches to what is so perfect, that it may be made worse, but can hardly be the better for any addition. Besides, that the strains of a Panegyrick do not agree so well with the solemnities of a Fast. I shall therefore say no more, neither to raise the just esteem and veneration of this Royal Martyr, nor to possess you with more detestation of so unparalleled a wickedness ; which as it had no pattern in any former age, so I hope shall never be a precedent for after times : But shall return to the Question put to the Prophet in the former Chapter, with the answer given to it both there and here, and in speaking to it, shall discourse of these three particulars.

First,

First, What ought to be the measures and rules of continuing Anniversary mournings upon such great occasions.

Secondly, What is to be done to have the occasions of our mourning converted into joy and gladness. We ought to *love the Truth and Peace.*

Thirdly, That upon our doing this sincerely, all the sad effects of that which we now mourn for, shall be so entirely removed, that our days of Fasting shall be turned into cheerful or solemn Feasts. To the First:

There is a temper to be observed in publique as well as in private mournings, that they be neither so short, as that it may thence appear we have a slight sense of matters of such great consequence; nor so long, as that either our sorrows rise out of measure high, or by the too frequent returns of those days, the object of our griefs grows too flat. There is a mean between these extremes, *There is a time to mourn as well as a time to rejoice: and everything is beautiful in its season.* I shall therefore offer two rules, by which it may be reasonably determined how long such solemn mournings ought to be continued, and apply them to the present occasion.

One is, As long as the sad effects of that which originally caused them, continue, we ought to keep up our Fasts: for so long God seems to continue his displeasure against us, and therefore we should be still renewing our intercessions to turn it away. As long as the Captivity lasted, the people of the *Jews* did not doubt continuing the observation of their Fasts, but when they were brought back again to their Land, it seemed then more proper to put this Question.

A Second

A second is, When the same or the like sins, which procured those Judgments that are so much lamented, do continue: and when the circumstances of a Nation seem to be almost the same, that they were on the occasion that at first called for their mourning; then it is fit either to continue or to renew their observation of those set Fasts. This was the case at this time of the Jews, they were beginning to contract alliances with the Idolatrous Heathens round about them, which had let in the former Idolatry, that had been the cause of their former Captivity: they became guilty of the same immoralities, and therefore they are commanded *to love the Truth and Peace* that so they being delivered from the Wrath of God, might serve him without fear. And now to apply this to our present Occasion.

There were two very ill effects that followed upon the Crime acted this day, which still continue: The one was, the advantage that many weak and prejudiced persons took against the appearances of Religion, Prayer, and the motions of Gods Spirit; all these having been so much pretended to at that time. Many that were assured the fact was Barbarous, and against all Law, Divine and Humane, came upon that to infer, that Religion, the addressing to God in Prayer, and the being guided by the inward motions of Grace and Gods holy Spirit, were at best but the illusions of fancy, if not the contrivances of designing Men. The Inference was as unjust as could be: yet so it was, that this falling upon young and raw persons, who were by the heat of their tempers, much inclined to entertain those prejudices; and that being wrought on by so great an Agent of *Hell*, as the *Author of Leviathan*

was; many were upon this corrupted in their Principles about Religion in general. And for all the sleights of Wit, the shews of Reason, and softness of Style that were in that *Book*, it could never have been so mischievously successful, as it then was, if it had not been for the scandals which were given by the impudent pretensions of many of that time. Their unintelligible way of talking about Religion, their crumbling into so many Sects, the aspirings of many under all the shews of Humility and Mortification, tended to make the Seeds of Atheism grow up plentifully. And to this, I speak it knowingly, we owe the beginnings of all those impious and immoral Maxims which have since overrun the Land. And do not these effects continue still? Is not Devotion accounted by many to be either a matter of Form, or a piece of Enthusiasm? for earnestness in Prayer, and depending on the inward assistances of Gods holy Spirit, how have men who know or value these things little themselves, taken occasion from thence to disparage them with much Impudence and Scorn? Some have thought they could not be esteemed Loyal, if they appeared devout: and therefore to purchase the one Character were willing not only to throw off, but openly to reproach the other all they could. What ill effects this has had, how the Nation has been much corrupted by these Maxims, and God highly offended, is so obvious to every Mans observation, that I need dwell no longer on it.

The other ill effect that still continues, is the prejudice that the Enemies of our Church have cast on the Reformed Religion: as holding that very Doctrine of killing Kings, for which they had been so justly charged. And perhaps

perhaps that which at present is the ground of all our fears, had its rise in a great measure from the Jealousies which upon this occasion were infused against the Protestant Religion. It will be therefore no improper thing to shew you how justly the Church of *Rome* is accused of this, and how unjustly it is cast on those of the Reformed Religion. That this charge is truly fastned on the Church of *Rome* will appear in these particulars.

The power of deposing Kings is certainly a Doctrine of their Church, as appears in the universal agreement to it, and the Tradition of it for above five Ages, in a more uninterrupted and uncontroverted series, in all that time, than can be shewed even for Transubstantiation it self. Now if a King is deposed by the Pope, and after such deposition, if he is not so tame as to lay aside his Regal Dignity, which it is very likely few Princes will do, then they being lawfully deposed, are Kings no more: and if they pretend to be Kings still, they are Usurpers: so he that kills them does not kill a King but an Usurper. And if the Pope creates a new Prince, which by the same Authority is vested in him, and is indeed a branch of the deposing power; then the new Prince being lawfully vested with the Regal Authority, may as justly authorise any to kill the deposed King, as a lawful King may set a price upon any Rebels head. This was well observed by those who undertook to defend the deposing power. *Swarez* writing against King *James* tells him in plain terms, a *That a King who is canonically deposed may be killed by any private man whatsoever*. *Valentia* says, b *That an heretical Prince may be by the Popes sentence deprived of life*: and *Becanus* though Confessor to an Emperor, *Ferdinand* the II. says, c *No man doubts but*

a In Reg.
Majest.
Brit. Lib. 6.
c 4. Sect. 10
b In Thom.
Tom. 3.
Disp. 151.
8. 4. p. 2.
c Cont. Ang.
p. 115.

if Princes are contumacious the Pope may order their lives to be taken away. I might name many more, but these may suffice: especially since it is visible that this is a certain and necessary consequence of the deposing Doctrine. And though *Gerson* one of the best Men of his Age, did at the Council of *Constance* where the Papal power was troden under foot, and the Court of *Rome* had no influence (so vain a thing it is to distinguish between the Court and Church of *Rome*) press much for the obtaining of a Decree, *That no subject should murder his King or Prince*, even that could not easily pass: and he himself was in danger of his life for soliciting it so earnestly. In conclusion it was done, but with such a reservation as shews they would only condemn the assassinations of private cut-throats; for those were only condemned *Who killed their King without waiting for the sentence of any Judge whatsoever*: so if sentence is past by any Judge (the Ecclesiastical as well as the Civil) then this decree notwithstanding, it will be lawful for a Subject to kill his King.

I might here run out into many Instances to shew you how acceptable the killing of Kings has been to those of that Church: how *Sixtus* the V. made a Panegyrique upon *Clements* murdering *Henry* the III. of *France* before a Congregation of Cardinals: how *Francis Veronno* wrote both in defence of that fact, and of *Chastells* attempt on *Henry* the IV. how *Garnet* and *Hall* that suffered for the most desperate attempt that ever was, I mean the Gun-powder Treason, are reckoned among the Martyrs in the Catalogues set out by the Jesuites: and under the pictures and prints made for *Garnet* he is called *the true Martyr of Christ*. Legends of miracles have

have been also made for them, which will be reserved till a fit time comes for their Canonization : which they deserve full as well as *Thomas Becket* did, who was the greatest Saint in the Church for some Ages, the blessed Virgin, nay, which is more, Jesus Christ himself not excepted, if we may judge by the devotion that was payed at his Shrine, since by the Legier books of *Canterbury*, it appears yet on Record, that in some years above 950*l*. was offered at his Altar, and not a six pence at our Saviours Altar, and but a few pounds at the blessed Virgins. And to shew how well they approved of the Gunpowder Treason at *Rome*, *Gerard*, and *Greenmoll* or *Tesmond*, two of the principal Conspirators, were so well entertained there, that escaping thither from the Justice of this Nation, the one was made the Popes Penitentiary, and the other lived in the English Colledge there, and officiated often in *St. Peters* in the Vatican.

After all this evidence, in which I have not once named *Mariana*, though they would make us believe, he is the only person of their Communion that ever maintained this opinion, it is apparent that the killing of Kings has been openly taught, and publicly encouraged in that Church: and that it is a necessary consequence of the Deposing Doctrine. What hand they had in this execrable crime, and how far they disguised themselves into all the forms and divisions about Religion that were among us, I shall not positively assert: It has been done with very much assurance, by persons of great worth and credit: and there are many probabilities to induce us to believe it.

Two things were observable in the methods of carrying on this great wickedness, clearly borrowed from them:

them : The one was, the actors pretending to Enthusiasms, and inward directions for what they did, though it was clearly contrary both to the Laws of God and Man. That the person of our Prince is Sacred, and exempted from punishment, is a constant Maxim of our Government : which makes his ill Ministers and Councillors accountable for every thing that is done amiss. That the House of Commons cannot set up, by their single Authority, a Court to judge of the life of the meanest subject : that a force put on either House, though but a small part were violently excluded, makes it to be no more a House of Parliament ; and that much more when the far greater part was secluded, they were certainly no House of Commons : That one House without the concurrence of the other, and the Royal assent joined to both, could not do any thing legally : and finally, That the Officers of the Army had no right to assume the Government into their hands ; were all things so manifest according to the constitutions of this Kingdom, that they who acted so contrary to them, knew they could never justify themselves by either Law or President. It was necessary then to fly to somewhat, that should seem to be above all the limitations and restraints of Law : and that was to pretend secret directions from God. A Doctrine that overthrows the main and fundamental principle of the Reformation, which is, That in all things which relate to God, the Scriptures only are to be our Rule. And indeed it is hard to determine whether the referring all controversies of Religion to one infallible Judge, or the giving up of men to the heats of their own fancies, be the most dangerous principle.

The

The latter seems worse: for the former leaves us to the mercy of one man, whereas the other exposes mankind to the fury and humour of every brainsick or designing man. It is certain, that in the publick actions of our lives, and in moral matters, Inspiration without a warrant from Scripture, or a clear proof of a Divine Mission attested by some publick and supernatural sign or miracle, is not only a fallacious, but may be a pernicious guide. That this was all borrowed from the Writings, and the publick and encouraged practices of the Church of *Rome*, from whom that which is true and rank Fanaticism has issued out, though perhaps many of those among us are not aware of it, has been made out so fully, and beyond contradiction by an eminent Writer of our own, that I need add nothing in confirmation of what must be universally acknowledged, by all who have read his learned Book on this subject.

*Dr. Stillingfleet of
the Fanaticism of
the Church
of Rome.*

A 2d thing that appeared in carrying on the wickedness of this day, borrowed from the Doctrines of that Church, was, a principle that all the rules and constitutions of Government may be broke through by the sounder and better part of the people at their pleasure: that Princes and Parliaments, and the major part of either House were subject not only to the whole body of the people, for this would not have served their turn, but to the sounder and better part. The resolving all power in the people, was first taken up by the assertors of the Popes deposing power: for they argued, that if it belonged to the people, then the Pope representing the Universal Church, all their rights did accrew to him; so that in their names he was to dispose of Crowns as
he

he pleased. But here these maxims were thus varied: The power was said to belong to the people in common, but was to be managed by the better part, that is the stronger, *the Army*, who assumed to themselves the name of the better and fonder part: for I am sure I speak within bounds, if I say it was not the Twentieth man, and I do not exceed if I say it was not the hundredth man of *England* that approved of it.

It is therefore a most unjust blemish cast on the Protestant Religion, or the English Nation, to accuse either the one or the other for that which was but the crime of a few hot headed Enthusiasts, or ambitious Souldiers: and those who suffer themselves to be wrought on by so ill grounded a prejudice, and to be so far carried by it, as to renounce our Communion, and go over to the Church of *Rome*, discover plainly that they neither understand their principles nor ours. We detest and condemn it, and they encourage and approve the like practices: and they may as justly accuse the Protestant Religion of Adultery and Theft, because some among us have been avowedly guilty of these sins. The Church of *England* hath ever witnessed her detestation of these practices and principles, and shared deeply in the sufferings of their King: The whole Nation by their Representatives in Parliament has condemned it, and appointed this solemn humiliation for expiating the guilt of it. And many of the most considerable Dissenters, did even then, when it was not so safe to do it as it is now, openly declare against it both in their Sermons and Writings. This is what in Justice cannot be denied them, and many of them were no less active and industrious, and were indeed highly instrumental

mental in the bringing home of his Majesty that now Reigns. If some few have justified the shedding of this blood, as their number hath been but inconsiderable, so their Maxims have been chiefly borrowed from Popish Writers. One great instance of this appeared in many speeches that were printed at that time, and were said to be delivered in their Junto, which were almost word for word taken out of a book, that had been often condemned, and was strictly prohibited, that went under the name of *Dolman*; but was believed to be written by *Parsons* the Jesuit, who was perhaps one of the greatest men that that order has produced, so manifestly did they copy from the Jesuites School: and by that great impiety then acted by them, they have given some seeming but very false colours for taxing the Reformed Religion; by which Popery has had such footing among us. By these things it may appear that we are yet under the ill effects of the guilt of this day, both in the strength that Atheism received by it, and the advantages which the Papists have taken from it.

The other reason of continuing publick mournings is, when we are warned by any sad symptoms, to fear the return of the like or of new calamities: and that this still presses on us, to repeat our solemn humiliations, is so evident, that I need not stand long to make it out. We have been long under fears, that it might happen to us as it did to the Jewish Church, when it was her lamentation, *The anointed of the Lord, who was the breath of our Nostrils, is fallen into their pits.* Our King is more to us in our circumstances than theirs was to them, and we have had more cause to fear that he should fall by the hand of a *Clement*, or a *Ravilliac*,

Lament. 4.
20.

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and

and then what a black prospect have we of most terrible confusions to follow, on such a fatal blow? or if even that sacred life should in a natural way expire, what can we see beyond it but fatal and gloomy days? Or if the disorders among our selves should burst out into blood, what distractions and miseries are like to follow? It is not to be conceived, that among them who are so zealous in the opposing of a Plot against His Majesties Person, our holy Religion, and the peace and safety of the Nation, there can be any that dares mock God and Man so audaciously as to be designing any such thing, at the same time that they are accusing others for it. To suppose it otherwise, were to give credit to the false suggestions and base contrivances of those who design nothing more than to take us off from watching over their motions; by engaging us one against another, and infusing such Jealousies as may effectually divide us among our selves: the only way that is now left, without a foreign power, first to break, and then to conquer those in separated parties, whose united strength they know they cannot resist. I shall therefore rather encourage you to continue in this duty, than endeavour to perswade you to it. Let us remember that we are commanded to *Fear God*, and next to

Honour the King, and by well doing to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: and that every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, for the powers that are, are of God, and who so resists them, resists the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation; for they are the Ministers of God, wherefore we must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for Conscience sake. Christ himself taught us to render to Cæsar the things that

1 Pet. 2. 17

Rom. 13.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

that are *Cæsars*, and to God the things that are Gods : Math.22. 27.
 and he being in his state of humiliation but a private
 subject, would not suffer the Sword to be drawn in his Math.26. 52.
 defence, and expressly said, that though he was a King,
 yet *his Kingdom was not of this world, else his servants* Joh.18.35
would have fought for him. These things are plain and
 clear, and need no Commentary : His Apostles also charged
 those whom they employed in settling the Churches,
 to put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, Titus 3.1.
 to obey Magistrates, and to pray for Kings, and
 all that are in Authority ; that under them we may lead a
 quiet and peaceable life, in all Godliness and Honesty. 1 Tim.2.2
 And if it is ever seasonable to enlarge on these duties, it
 is most necessary on such a day ; and that's a principal
 reason for the continuance of this Anniversary : And
 thus I hope I have sufficiently vindicated the continuance
 of our publick humiliation on this and such like solemn
 days.

2. The next thing I proposed to speak to, was the
 duties that belong to such solemn Mournings : Great
 and extream sorrow cannot be expected, when so few
 that were concerned in it are alive ; or if they are, I
 cannot believe that any such are here in this place : And
 for them that were not so concerned, a bare horror at
 the fact, with prayers for averting the Judgments that
 may be consequent to it, is too slight a thing. My
 Text directs us to things of more value and impor-
 tance. We are to *love the Truth and Peace.* By Truth
 is either to be understood the entire complex of their
 Religion, called often by *David, the way of Gods Truth :*
 or by *Truth* is meant candor and fidelity among men :
 so this applied to us must be understood either of the

truth of the Gospel, or of sincerity and honesty in our discourses and actions.

For the first of these, we may well call our Religion *Truth*; since we believe nothing, but what Jesus Christ and his Apostles delivered to the world, in the name of God: we have no new Doctrines added to this, introduced by false and deceitful men, supported by lying wonders, or counterfeited Writings. Our Doctrine as it is *the truth of God*, so is to be maintained and promoted by means suitable to the being and nature of that God from whom it is derived. We found nothing on made stories, or forged Records; we teach none of the Doctrines of falshood and equivocation, breach of faith or vows: dispensing with Oathes, dissolving of Leagues or Treaties. All these we have left to that Church, that as she grew up by lies and forgeries, so continues that trade still, which has been in former ages of such advantage to her. I need not insist on the Popes dispensing what the Oathes of Allegiance of Subjects to their Princes, breaking and dissolving Treaties, though confirmed by Oathes and Sacraments; a publick instance of which appeared in the battel of *Varna*, where the Turk appealed to Jesus Christ, whose name those Christians had affronted by breaking what was sealed by the most sacred tie. The issue was both fatal and disgraceful to the Christian Army: All was done by the Popes Instigation, as well as Authority. A publicker instance was yet given at *Constance*, which shewed that the Church was no better than the Court of *Rome*: When those who came upon a safe conduct, were notwithstanding that condemned to be burnt: and a Decree was made, That Faith given to Hereticks in
such.

such a sort was not to be kept; though they had come to the place of judgment trusting to it, and would not have come without it. And how far they have since that time carried on the Doctrine of Lying and Swearing falsely, may appear by this one clear and undeniable proof: In March 79. there were many Propositions complained of at Rome, gathered out of the Writings of the Casuists, among which these are two.

A man either alone or before others, may when he is asked, or of his own accord, or for his diversion, or any other end, swear that he did not do a thing, which he really did: having a secret meaning either of some other thing which he did not do, or of another way of doing it, or of any other Truth which he adds to it, in which case he is in Truth neither a Liar nor is he Perjured.

Decree of the Pope lately printed in Latine and English. Prop. 26.

A just cause of using those secret meanings is as oft as it is necessary or profitable for the preservation of Life, or Honour, or saving ones Goods, or any other act of Virtue, so that the concealment of Truth seems in that case expedient or desirable.

Prop. 27.

Upon this a condemnation followed by the Pope and the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*. In it we have a Confession beyond exception that these Tenets have been taught among them. But it may be urged that they are now condemned: It is true they are so: But first, though they have been long complained of, they were not condemned till within these two years. Secondly, They were not condemned by the Pope in the Consistory; which would have made the Censure more Authoritative: but by the Pope and the Cardinals of the Court.

Court of the Inquisition: upon which a remarkable thing followed. The Jesuites who were much provoked at this Censure, moved the *Procureur de Roy*, or Attorney General at *Paris*, to put in a complaint against the publishing that Decree, since it came from the Court of the Inquisition; which not being acknowledged in *France* nothing flowing from that Authority could be received in that Kingdom: upon which the Decree was prohibited and suppressed: so ready are they to bear down any thing that strikes against these strong holds of Satan among them. And thirdly, This Censure is so penned that it does not import a condemnation, but is indeed only a prohibition: for these Propositions are not declared to be impious and immoral, or contrary to the Laws of God and of Nature: That had been more candid and ingenuous dealing. They are only condemned as being *scandalous and pernicious in practice*, that is to say of ill consequence: and all are required in the vertue of *holy obedience* and under the pains of *Excommunication* to teach them no more: so if a case happens that these may turn useful in practice, then a faculty may be secretly granted for taking off this Censure. From this it may appear what a door they have opened for the most disingenuous practices imaginable: which is a shrewd presumption that their Doctrine is not the Truth, when it is mixed with such arts that favour more of him that was a liar from the beginning than of the God of Truth.

We then that are of the Truth ought to Love it, to reckon it our greatest honour that we are called to the Knowledge and profession of this holy Faith: we ought to adhere to it as long as we Live, and to be ready to lay down

down our Lives for it, if God should call us to it. But our *loving* it, signifies more than barely to speak honourably or passionately concerning it: or to like it in opposition to Popery. To be a Protestant without being first a Christian can signifie nothing before God. To Love it then, is inwardly to delight in it, to be wrought on by its Precepts, so as to conform both our Hearts and Lives to it. Then we Love it sincerely when we measure our Belief by the Doctrines it delivers, and our Lives by the Rules it gives us. And as a particular branch, of *Truth* in the general notion, we must be candid and sincere in all our discourses and dealings: We are not to advance even the best ends by acts of injustice; but to be strict to these Rules of Truth the Gospel prescribes: Not to lie, or spread lies, nor to slander even our greatest Enemies; not to deceive or couzen those that deal with us: but to do to others as we would have others do to us; to do every thing as considering we are under the allseeing Eye of that God, who will judge us for all our actions ere long, and will bring to light the hidden things of dishonesty. If we do thus love the Truth, both in the speculations of it and in reducing these to practice, then we have made one step towards that here promised in my Text.

The other thing enjoined is, That, we love *Peace* likewise; not *Peace* in prejudice of, or opposition to Truth: but that *as far as possibly we can we may live peaceably with all men*. Where we are in all things agreed, there to love Peace is an easie and cheap piece of vertue: Of this may be said what our Saviour said of loving them that love us, *Do not Heathens and Publicans the same?* It is a sign of a nature strangely corrupted to be-
gin

gin quarrels and contests, when there is no cause given for them. To avoid this is such a common piece of good nature, that it is rather a wonder how a man can do otherwise: but then does it appear that we love peace, if we can bring our minds to live peaceably with those that differ from us, and have perhaps besides the difference of Opinion really wronged us, or at least done their endeavours. If with such we live peaceably then it appears that we are indeed the Sons and lovers of Peace. It is a false Maxim to think we are then the truest Protestants, when we have departed the furthest that is possible from every opinion or practice of the Church of *Rome*: for in this we may run into extreams: But we are sure we can never run into any extream, by receding as far as we can from that ill temper of mind, which naturally follows that Religion, or rather is become a part of it. How little they love Peace, is apparent from the conduct of Religion in their Hands from Pope *Victors* days downwards. He condemned the Eastern Churches for a thing of so little consequence, as whether *Easter* was to be observed on the 14 day of the moneth or on the Sunday following. Since that time it were endless to shew you what disquiet they have given to the Christian World. They broke with the Greek Churches because they would not become subordinate to them: and then pretended other things, as that they Consecrated leavened and not unleavened Bread in the Sacrament, and that they Taught that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father by the Son, and not from the Son as well as from the Father: and upon these things not only broke Communion with them, but hindred the Princes of the Western Churches to give them any assistance,

assistance, to defend them from the impressions that the Turks were making on them: and resolved rather to deliver up those ancient Churches, and so many Millions of Souls, to Mahometans, than that there should be any Christians upon Earth that would not become in all things obedient and subject to the Papaey. Shall I add to this, their sending so many great Princes with vast Armies, to be destroyed in the Wars, for recovering *Palestine*, which they called the holy War? The many Croisado's that they Proclaimed against Hereticks or even Catholick Princes, as they called them, upon any imperious demands of theirs, when the Emperors or Kings did not tamely deliver up their Prerogatives, as well as their Necks to be trampled upon by them? It were long to reckon up the Princes they have deposed, and the Wars set on by them; but it were endless to reckon all the dismal effects of them. How was *Italy* and *Germany* rent in pieces by their means, with the factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibellines*? And how often did *England* and *France* tremble at their thunders? Surely these cannot be the Sons of Peace, nor the Head of them the Vicar of the Prince of Peace. Those that dare differ from them, know what the fruits of their Peace is: To be hunted after, To be damned first, and burnt next, are all the effects of their lenity. And as a great man expressed it pleasantly, *Though we* L. Fault.
are not sure that all whom they damn are damned, yet we land.
are very sure that all whom they burn are burnt. It is a vain attempt to hope ever to be at Peace with them, for that on which their Church founds all their other Doctrines, being her Infallibility, it is a foolish thing to endeavour to convince them, that they have been in

any one error, who make this the fundamental Article of their Religion, that their Church cannot err. So that all such designs, shew either the simplicity and weakness, or the vanity and the self-conceit of the undertakers. There is no peace to be had with them but at the expence of Truth: if we will renounce our Religion, and believe whatever they shall think fit to prescribe, we may hope to purchase their favour; on other terms we must despair of it: and I hope we will not buy it so dear.

But since we cannot have peace with them, let us seek to have it among our selves: God be thanked none of our differences are such as we may despair of reconciling them; or at least of bearing with one anothers infirmities and mistakes. When we come to die we will have another sense of these things than we now have. Then all those heats and animosities which do now inflame us, will yield us no comfort; but on the contrary, will beget in us severe challenges. Of this I my self was lately an eye witness when called to assist one on his death-bed, who had allowed himself to write with as much virulency as he could invent: but then he with many tears lamented it. It is true, he did not retract his opinions, nor was it thought seasonable at such a time to disturb him with controversie; but he sincerely repented of that bitterness of spirit, upon the account of our differences, and that censuring and detracting humour to which he had given too much way before: He wisht his Soul with the good men of the Church of *England*. He vowed that if he recovered, he should never return to that Vomit: and because he thought he was to die, he signed a retraction of all that

Dr. Lewis
du Moulin.

that was personal in his Writings; and exhorted all others to manage their differences with a more meek and Christian temper. I mention this in so publick a manner, because he authorised the printing of that retraction, which he signed on his death-bed: and I enlarge the more on this, hoping that such an example, from so learned and zealous a man, will have great influence on others to moderate their heat, and to allay their passions. Oh! for more of *that wisdom that is from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, and easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisie.*

The circumstances of this day should dispose us all more to this happy temper. I cannot say the breach between the late blessed King and his Parliament, or the War that followed was begun or carried on meerly upon the account of Religion; but certainly the sourness that was on peoples tempers by reason of their differences in Religion, set it on much, and made it more lasting, and end more Tragically. Many were transported at first beyond their duties, by the extream way of carrying matters before the War, by some that were more zealous then prudent: and certainly things were driven much further in conclusion, than was at first intended by them that took up Arms. There is a fatal series in some distractions; one step not only makes way for another, but makes it in some sort necessary for their security that have gone too far. In the end all were losers, and the Nation was like to be ruined. Those of the Church not only lost all that they enjoyed, their Goods, and their Benefices and Dignities, but they lost him who was their *Head on Earth*, who

was and still must be, one of the greatest Glories of this Church. Those of the separation were not gainers by it; a new party not thought of at first, rose up and took the game out of their hands; and when they had forced the Parliament, and killed the King, they entitled the rest to all they had done: and pretended they had gone on truly according to the principles upon which they had set out at first. And though they were gentler to these of the Division, than to those of the Church, yet they were to have been devoured at last, if a happy revolution had not taken the Nation out of their hands. Upon such a sad experiment, especially seconded with those dreadful hazards to which we see our selves now exposed, it might be expected that men of all sides should grow wiser and more temperate; and that many that are for the Church should abate of their stiffness, in things not Essential; and that they on the other hand, that insist on some indifferent matters, would consider things better without any heat and animosity. And thus if we come to *love the Truth and Peace*, that is, to secure the Protestant Religion against those enemies of Truth and Peace at *Rome*, and unite at home all that are capable of it, by adjusting matters among our selves, and those that cannot come into that Union, being at least inoffensive to them that do, and so all living in Love and Peace one with another, then we may hope to see that accomplished in our case, which is in my Text promised to the *Jews*, the third thing I proposed to speak to.

3. That

3. That all the sad effects of that for which we now mourn shall be then entirely removed: that our days of Fasting shall be turned into solemn and cheerful Feasts: then should our twenty ninth of *May*, swallow up the remembrance of the thirtieth of *January*: or perhaps as the Prophet foretold such happy deliverances should come to the Jews, as should make even that out of *Egypt*, be forgotten; so we might hope for such days as should out-shine and darken the very twenty ninth of *May*. Then might we hope to see *Halcyon* days, or, to speak in an English phrase, *Queen Elizabeth* days again. If we were delivered from the fears of Popery, and an end were put to our contests at home; if King and People, if City and Country, if Conformists and Dissenters all would happily conspire in the duties proposed in my Text, of *loving Truth and Peace*, Then should all our drooping Hearts revive again, all the mists that now environ us should vanish; all our fears and jealousies should fall off: and we being of one Heart and Mind should be the Paradise and Joy of the whole Earth, and the Glory and Bulwark of the Reformed Religion: and this great City should be a City wherein Righteousness should dwell. Then should we lie down and rise in Peace: Alarms and Distractions should cease: Peace should be within your Gates, and Prosperity within your Houses, or rather Palaces for such many of them are. Oh may we ever hope to see such days, and such a time. If we come to *love the Truth and Peace*, then shall even this Fast of the tenth month,
accor-

according to the Jewish account, be to us Joy and Gladness and a chearful Feast. The God of Truth and Peace give us Grace to set about it sincerely. To him be all Honour and Glory both now and evermore.



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By the Rev. J. H. B. ...

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An Exhortation to Peace and Union.

A
SERMON

Preached at St. *Lawrence-fury*,

AT THE

ELECTION

OF THE

LORD-MAYOR of *London*,

On the 29th of September, 1681.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

L O N D O N;



Printed for *Richard Chiswell*, at the Rose and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDC LXXXI.

Ward Mayor.

Curia specialis tenet' in Festo S. Michaelis Archang. Anno Regni Regis Caroli II, Angliæ, &c. xxxiii.

THIS COURT doth desire Doctor *Burnet* to print his Sermon, preached this morning at St. *Lawrence* Church, before the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of this City.

Wagstaffe.



M A T. 12. 25.

*And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them,
Every Kingdom divided against it self is brought
to desolation; and every City or House divided
against it self, shall not stand.*

THere are some Truths so clear in their own Evidence, that tho they give us light to prove other things, yet they themselves admit of no Proof, but are to be reckoned amongst those Notices that the Mind naturally has, which she can neither shake off, nor dispute. Among those this in my Text is to be numbred; for Union and Peace in Society, as it is the chief End and Design of all those Combinations of Men that run together; so it is the main Support of every State. And tho Governments have differed in almost all other Maxims; some being founded on Vertue, others on Vice; some intended to carry on Justice, and others set up on Robbery and Piracy; yet all agree in this, that they must have Peace at home: And tho many have differed in the Premises, how to compass it; yet all agree in the Conclusion, that it must be purchased at any rate. A Government that admits of Hostility at home, must soon turn *Felo de se*; for this is as a Disease that consumes the Vitals, and when they are wasted, the exhausted Carcase will

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be



A SERMON *preached at*

be exposed to every Beast of Prey that seeks to devour it. A Man inwardly sound can resist many Accidents, and live after many Wounds, and a great Loss of Blood and Spirits; whereas he that is vitiated within, is feeble in every thing that he undertakes, and easily overthrown by any Impression made upon him.: So the mightiest States, when broken within themselves, are too weak for a much less Power that is entire.

These things are so plain, that it were a loss of Time and Words to dwell upon them. And so our Saviour refers to them, being to answer the most malicious and unreasonable Cavil that ever was, by which the Pharisees endeavoured to take off the Conviction which his Miracles had left on all that saw them, representing him an Impostor, and in confederacy with the Prince of Darknes, so that these marvellous Effects followed upon that Agreement. This they at this time only whispered amongst themselves, perhaps they only thought it; but Christ, to give them a further discovery of that Divine Power that dwelt in him, shewed that he had another of God's Attributes communicated to him, his Omniscience, as well as his Omnipotence, for he knew their thoughts. And being to confute this, so as it should not be possible to reply upon him, he begins with the Words in my Text, as a Maxim so certain, that all Constitutions, good or bad, must agree in it, All that are associated into any Body must take care not to destroy themselves. And therefore since his whole Doctrine tended to the advancement of the Glory of God, to the bearing down of all Vice, Immorality, and Mischief, which are the Strong-Holds of Satan, and of that ridiculous and impious Way of Worship, and Idolatry, which was set up by the Devil's means, the Inference was as certain, as any Proposition in *Euclid* is, that therefore there was no secret Compact between them.

the Election of the Lord-Mayor.

3

I shall say no more on the Occasion that led our Saviour to speak these Words, but shall come to consider them in themselves ; I shall not enter into a Panegyrick of Unity, or a Declamation against Discord, a Man may as well praise Light, or commend Health, or shew his Eloquence in disparaging the Gout or Stone ; these things are such, that every Hearer is before-hand convinced of them. I shall therefore handle this Subject wholly with respect to Religion, that so it may become this Place and Occasion, and shall speak to these Heads.

1. There is nothing that defeats the Ends of Religion more, and does more naturally lead to all manner of Sin and Impiety, which must end in Temporal as well as Eternal Ruin, than intestine Heats and Divisions about it.

2. The Beginnings of Heats are often very inconsiderable, but by a confluence of unhappy Circumstances they soon grow to be almost incurable ; A Division will end in Destruction. And therefore the first Motions towards them ought to be watched over, and stopp'd, otherwise these Bodies so divided cannot long stand.

3. I shall shew the Weakness of all those Pretences that are used to justify Factions and Divisions.

4. I shall propose to you the Remedies, to which the Gospel directs us, for the preventing and curing this Mischief. And,

5. I shall plainly apply all to our present Circumstances, and the Business of this Day. To return,

I. There is nothing that defeats the Ends of Religion more, and does more naturally lead to all manner of Sin, Immorality, and Vice, which must bring on Ruine in Conclusion, than intestine Heats and Divisions. If we have a right Notion of Religion, we will not consider it only

as a Systeme of Opinions, or a Circle of some Forms, much less as an Engine to raise the Credit and Interest of a Sort of Men that dispense it; but as an internal Principle and Discipline, which tames and governs the Mind, and all its Motions and Appetites, and directs the Course of ones Life. Now the irregular Propensities that are in every one, some being of one sort, and some of another, are so violent and sudden, that the first performance of Religion is to qualify and break these. This cannot be done without much thought, and great recollection; and in order to that a serene and calm Temper is the best Disposition possible; of which the Philosophers were so aware, that they began their Instructions at those purgative Doctrines, before they carried on their Auditors to their sublimer Speculations. And the Quiet of a Society is not more necessary to the Happiness and Advancement of it, than quiet Thoughts are to make a Man wise or good. Therefore every thing that raises Disturbances within is to be guarded against, as that which not only produces the Mischiefs that visibly attend it, but really puts a Man quite out of order, slackens the Watch he ought to have over himself, and sets him on to, or at least very gently excuses him to himself, in many unjust and violent things, which seem often almost necessary to the support of an Interest or Party.

These Heats are bad enough, if grounded upon Civil Matters; but in those there is still some Check from the Thoughts of Religion, or the Return of a Sacrament-Day, which will in some measure bring a Man into Tune, and will at least let him see he is out of the way. But if they are grounded on Differences of Religion, the Evil is less curable, *If the Light that is in us be Darkness, how great is that Darkness!* That which will moderate our other Quarrels, encreases this, when we imagine we are doing

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doing God good Service ; and so the more strict we are, we become the more hot and peevish ; in which we will not only be applauding our selves, but instead of being reproved for it by those, who would perhaps chide us for Animosities in other things, we will be cherished and encouraged by them, as Persons zealous in their Matters, or as many call them, in the Concerns of Religion. In this we will by degrees become so corrupted, that one of the worst Vices will carry the Name of one of the best Vertues, our Wrath and Malice will be called Zeal. The ill Effects that this will have on our selves will be, that as this Temper grows upon us, all our inward Seriousness will in a great measure abate, and turn meerly to a Form ; and with that many other Sins will creep in upon us ; yea, we will perhaps grow to that degree, that we will imagine, that by our Rage and Heat we offer up some acceptable Sacrifice to God, to compensate for our other Disorders. We will bear with many ill things in others, because they are of our Party, whom otherwise we would detest for their ill Lives ; and by conversing much with them, we will contract at least a Familiarity with their Vices. And it is very likely the Contagion will not stop at that, there will follow a Train of the most unjust and malicious Things possible ; such as the making and spreading Lies and Calumnies, and the supporting them by Oaths and Villanies. And if this Humor goes on, it will carry those that are corrupted with it to Persecution, if they have Power, and to Rebellion if they have not. And *Oppression will make a wise Man mad*, but much more one that is weak and misled.

And thus a Man suffers mightily in the Peace and Purity of his Mind, by admitting those soure and ill-natured Passions into it. And Societies suffer no less : The private Affections of Relations, the Kindness of Neighbour-hoods,
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the Order of Corporations, and the Strength of a Nation, are dissolved by nothing so much, as by those peevish and ill-temper'd Humors : So that the Publick Peace, and the Security of the Whole, is sacrificed to those domestick Heats, whilst every Party is more concerned to ruine the other, than even to preserve themselves by a common Defence. And those Heats once kindled, burn longer, and deeper, and are apt to break out after they seem to be quenched, when ever a new Opportunity blows upon them.

That this Temper is certainly followed with those Effects, will easily appear to every one that has seriously observed the Advances it has made upon himself, if at any time he has given way to it. And those who have looked into the Histories of past Times, see almost in every Age the Ruins that it has made ; as Rocks are known by the Wrecks that float about them.

Shall I tell you what havock this made among the Jews? what a desperate and mad sort of Robbers and Murderers their Zealots became ? The Humor was far advanced when St. Paul was one of them ; for he going under the authority of that Character, *made havock of the Church, and went from City to City, to imprison and bind all that called on the Name of Christ.* This grew afterwards to a pitch of Madness that is scarce credible, if we had not so good a Voucher for it as Josephus, who was an Eye-witness. When the Power of the Roman Empire, under which the whole World did bend, came against them, so that it was necessary for them, either to prevent their Ruine by an early Submission, or to defend themselves from it with an united Strength ; the Rage that was among the several Parties so distracted their Councils, and disordered their Designs, that they could

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could neither prudently submit, nor generously resist, but they languished away in Famine, or destroyed one another in those unnatural Broils within their Walls. When God bless'd his Church with Peace and Protection, and after a long Trial, during three Ages and ten Persecutions, raised up a Nursing-Father to it; soon after that two Contests arose. One was about a personal thing in *Cecilian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, Whether he, or his Ordainers, had denied the Faith, and delivered up the Sacred Writings, in the former Persecution? The other was concerning a speculative and mysterious Point of the Eternal Generation of the Word, in which it is probable the Difference at first was only in the manner of expression. One of these distracted the best Portion of Christendom, I mean the *African Churches*; and the other, with those Questions that arose out of it, made such havock in the Christian World, for above two Ages, that it not only stopp'd the Progress of that holy Religion, and gave the Heathens the greatest Advantages they could possibly have wish'd; but brought in a Subtilty, and Warmth concerning Speculative Points, that has in a great measure driven out of the World the plain Simplicity of the Gospel.

When the Orthodox Party had Peace and Protection under *Theodosius*, and were delivered from the Cruelty of the *Arrian Princes*, then arose a new Debate, Whether those that had complied, and submitted in that time, and were ordained by the *Arrians*, should be continued in their Sees, or not? The *Luciferians* that opposed this, were so persecuted by *Damasus*, and his Party at *Rome*, that at one time they broke into their Meeting-House, and killed about seven or eight Score of them. God witnessed his Displeasure and Severity against those Violences; and the Church, both in the East, and in the West, was
given

*Libell. Pre.
Marcell. &
Paul.*

Joel 1. 4.

given up to be scourged by vast Swarms of cruel and barbarous Nations, who as the Palmer-Worm, the Locust, the Canker-Worm, and the Caterpillar, are set down figuratively by the Prophet, succeeding one another, every one consuming what the other had left: So these wasted Christendom to such a degree, that it was visible those astonishing Judgments were not the Punishments of ordinary Sins. And all the Evils that were among the Christians flowing in a great measure from those Heats about Opinions, which raised bitter Zeal and Strife, that brought on Confusion, and every evil Work, I may lay the procuring Cause of those Plagues and Desolations, in a high degree, to the charge of their Divisions.

When our Ancestors, the Saxons, received first the Christian Religion, tho as it was not of so pure an Alloy as formerly, but much embased in that Age; so into what Heats did they fall with the old Britains, concerning the Observation of Easter, in which we now certainly know, that neither Side understood the Point they debated about. But they were more set on that, and other Superstitious Conceits, than on a real Conversion of the Nation. And how was this Island plagued after that, by the Incurfions and Depredations which the Danes made for near two Ages? The Contests between the Greek and Latin Church ended in the Ruine of the Eastern Empire; and the Triumphs of the Crescent over the Cross, were in a great measure to be ascribed unto that most unhappy Breach.

I shall pursue this no more; the thing is plain to common Observation, and needs not to be fortified with much Proof.

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It is as certain as any humane thing can possibly be, that when any Body of men are engaged against a Common Enemy, and yet divided among themselves and jealous of one another, they will rather let the Enemy prevail than assist their brethren, even in the wisest and best things, if they think the honour of such actions will raise the credit of their Rivals. And thus if their strength were ever so much superiour to the Enemies; yet when his force is united, and theirs disjointed, they must become a prey to him: but this will hold more certainly if the Common Enemy is really stronger than they are, though united. In such a case their heats among themselves are so unaccountable, that though the World is naturally foolish enough, yet it is not to be supposed that meer folly could carry such a madness so far; there is more reason to ascribe it to the secret practices of corrupted and perfidious men, who are employed, and may be hired, to be Incendiaries perhaps on both sides. For a wise and watchful Enemy, when one Plot fails, will soon set up another; and will think it an extraordinary happiness, if without the infamy of an Assassination of a *Gun-powder Plot*, which they would not choose but upon extremities, they can make their adversaries so spend their strength one against another, that they shall either deliver themselves up to them, or be able to make a very faint resistance to a vigorous impression: And there is no design so certain as the inflaming of divisions among their adversaries; and that both in Church and State: which when they are once brought to that pass, that both sides have vowed revenge, either party will be so intent on their little designs, that the whole must perish: And some will perhaps come to think it safer to trust themselves to the mercy of their adversary, than to the resentments of enraged Country-men. And thus will they bite and devour one another,

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ther, till they are either consumed one of another, or made an easie conquest to those that both see and improve all their advantages. And so much I have adventured to say upon the First head. I come now to the Second.

2. The beginnings of those heats are often very inconsiderable; but by a confluence of unhappy Circumstances, they soon grow to be almost incurable. It is but a division at first, but that will end in ruin. All our evils flow from our own ill humours; and whatever excites or provokes these, be it how inconsiderable soever in its own nature, yet its effects will grow great and remarkable. In Civil matters it is so. What a trifling thing was it among the *Romans* to be of the faction of the *Veneti* or *Prasini*, that betted for matches in the Cirque, which were distinguished by a Livery? yet this produced great Convulsions in the Imperial City; and when the Emperour hapned to be of either side, that party of which he was, thought they had an authority to exercise great Cruelties on all the other faction. But this is much more dangerous, if the ground of the difference is any point of Religion, though ever so indifferent in it self: What heats arose concerning the day on which *Easter* was to be observed? How little did it concern Religion, what *Cecilian*, or his Ordainers were, especially in the age after they were dead? And yet not only a separation and violent rage, but a great effusion of blood, with the other dismal consequences of that blind fury, followed upon this, and the *Africans* continued quarrelling about it, till the *Vandals* came and destroyed both the one and the other. And surely many of the contests about mysteries, began at some unwary expressions, in which the one side fastned ill senses on the words spoken by the other; and the other, rather than yield so far for peace sake, as to explain themselves, choesed rather to justify their words in any sense, than to retract or molli-

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fie them: And can we think without astonishment that such matters as giving the Sacrament in leavened, or unleavened bread, or an explication of the procession of the Holy Ghost, whether it was from the Father and the Son, or from the Father by the Son, could have rent the *Greek* and *Latine* Churches so violently one from another, that the *Latines* rather than assist the other, lookt on, till they were destroyed by the *Othoman* Family, which has ever since been so terrible a Neighbour to the rest of *Europe*! Oft-times one contest beeds another; and that which perhaps began at a speculative point ends in a practical one; and that which begins in some Rite or Ceremony, grows at last to a breach in matters of Faith.

The contests whether Christ had one or two wills, being determined by the sixth General Council against the *Monothelites*, they by their interest at Court, got that Assembly to be decried; so that a Picture of the Fathers that sate there being hung up in a great Church, was removed, and those that removed it said to excuse themselves, that no Pictures or Images ought to be in Churches. Upon this those of the other party did violently contend, that Images ought not only to be set up, but Worshipped; and this produced great disorders in the *East*, under two or three revolutions of the Court: and in conclusion, *Italy* shook off the Emperours Authority by the Popes instigation, because he brake the Images. And this gave the rise to another question, whether the Sacrament was only the Image of Christ as the one party asserted, or was the very substance of his body. Both had Councils, which in those Ages past for General ones, of their side. To what has the different explications of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament made by *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, risen, though it lies merely in speculation? It has raised such an alienation, that in many places the *Lutherans* are no
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less, and in some they are more fierce, against the *Calvinists*, than against *Papists*. Like a strange sort of people among our selves, that are not ashamed to own a greater aversion to any sort of Dissenters, than to the Church of *Rome*.

But to come nearer home ; To what has a contest that began at first about Hoods and Surplices risen amongst us? Those points upon which it began, have been long ago yielded up as indifferent ; but new matter will soon be found out by those who have a mind to search for it. In the last age the heats about Divine Decrees, and the Morality of the Lords day, almost destroyed us. Now as there is no difference at all remaining about the one, Divines agreeing, as much to press the observation of it, as the greater part of the Nation does in profaning it ; so in the other, the mysteriousness of those points being so very much enquired into, there have been such moderate methods used in handling them of both sides, that there are now no more heats concerning them : But alas, though some things fall off, I do not know how it comes that this Monster shoots out always new heads, and there grow up new Subjects for debate and anger ; and though at present there are no considerable Contests among us about any Doctrinal points, yet we are not a whit the nearer an agreement : the reason is, the alienation of our minds stands or rather grows still, and this is of late blown up to such a degree by some venomous Libels and Pamphlets, that in the midst of Peace and plenty we seem to be in a posture of War. And what will the end of these things be ? if this fermentation goes on, it will burst out at last, and upon the first unlucky Crisis it must produce dismal effects.

It is not so much to be considered what are the grounds of contests in matters of Religion, as what is the temper with which they are managed. Things of great moment

ment may be managed by men of prudent and calm tempers in so soft a manner, that none of their differences shall be able to divide them: and the inconsiderablest things possible, may by the ill natured sophistry of angry men, be raised up to seem matters of the greatest moment. For it is but the fastning an ill name, or an ill consequence to any opinion, that will do it; and then since a consequence if rightly inferred, is really involved in that upon which it follows, it is given out as the sense of a whole party, which detests the consequence, and would forsake the opinion if they could but be perswaded that it really belonged to it. It is in strife as in the letting out of waters, a vent to the least measure does dilute and spread. Therefore the Wise man advises us *to leave off contention before it be medled with.* It may seem a contradiction to leave it off before it is medled with; but we are so early to retire from all contention, that as soon as it appears, and before we have engaged in it, we must break it off. For if we are once ingaged, humour, honour and other peevish or designing men will hold us to it: it is best to break it off in time, otherwise we shall have reason to cry out often with St. James, *Behold how great a matter a little fire hath kindled.*

3. I now go on to the Third particular, which is to shew how vain and unreasonable all those pretences are, that are made use of to support this hot and bitter temper. I shall reduce them to these Four. First, Zeal for truth. Secondly, A care to preserve our selves. Thirdly, Authorities from the Old Testament. Fourthly, Authorities from the New. For the first,

It is true we ought to be zealously affected in a good thing; we ought indeed to be much concerned in every thing that relates to our eternal happiness hereafter, and to those means that dispose and lead us to it here. But there

is also a bitter zeal, which is reckoned among the works of the flesh, and a zeal without knowledge. That zeal which is acceptable to God, must be suitable to his nature, full of goodness, mercy and compassion. If it makes us hate, defame or persecute our brother, we are sure this is not that zeal which will commend us to God. In a word, true zeal is, when out of an inward sense of the goodness of God, and of the excellency of Religion, we have an earnest concern in our minds, that other men may honour and serve him, and participate in those joyes which we feel in Religion. A little reflection on our selves and our secret thoughts will soon resolve the point, whether it is malice and revenge for some injury supposed or real, whether it is some secret design and private end that we disguise with the name of zeal, or a sincere affection to Religion and the souls of our brethren, that governs us. We ought also to be well assured both of the truth and importance of those things on which we imploy our zeal, and not let it run out impetuously on every trifle, and we are still to watch over our tempers, lest our heat carry us too far. And we must never forget that we ought to be zealous for peace as well as truth. Can it be supposed that those who live in all sorts of debaucheries and impieties, are either zealous for the Church on the one hand, or for the Protestant Religion, as they pretend, on the other? If these things will scarce pass with wise men, much less will they pass with that God, who sees the heart. It is certain, Zeal must never exclude Charity; for the love of God, and our Neighbour is the foundation of it. Whatever has not this at bottom is but the dreg of Education, the sowness of a party, and a thin disguise for black designs.

The second pretence is Safety. I am not to meddle with the publick security of government, that is a subject above

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me : I speak with relation to private persons and their deportment. All Zealots apprehend themselves in some danger from those against whom they are set ; if their numbers are small, they fear that they will become greater ; and if they are great, they fear they will master them : and so they endeavour to conquer them, first in point of reputation in the battels of the tongue and pen, by defaming them, either discovering real faults, or forging calumnies to disgrace them ; and then in point of interest insinuating themselves into such as they can have access to, and endeavouring to work the ruine of those who differ from them. If there were no other measures to be taken in matters of Religion, but the Maxims of humane Policy, this might pass for tolerably prudent : But St. James tells us, the Wisdom of that bitter zeal, *is not from above, it is earthly, sensual and devilish.*

The Bonds of a man, and the cords of love are those, by which God uses to draw us ;] and in imitation of that, the methods of reason, and the wayes of meekness are both more suitable to the Divine Nature, and more likely to work on the greater part of men : In following these which God has appointed, we may with confidence depend upon his protection and blessing ; and if the petulancies and follies of some make it at any time necessary to punish them, it should appear, that what they suffer is the correction of a Father or Brother, and not the wound of an enemy, or the lash of a Jaylor. Extream heats if not repressed will carry to extream severities. And perhaps no severities are very prudent, except they be extream, as are the Inquisitions of *Spain* ; but we may see what the Church of *Rome* has gained by their cruelties in the last Age. Violence alienates those further, whom we ought

ought to gain upon, and likewise increases their party by the compassions of all good-natured people, who are thereby first inclined to pity them, then to love them, and perhaps in conclusion to go over to them: and so the sharpness of rigour instead of being a security, often proves the ruin of those who depend on it: whereas the wayes of love and meekness will work more universally and effectually, at least to mollifie if not to turn those with whom we deal; and it draws all people who are less engaged in their affections, to adhere to those who are moderate: The very appearances of a calm temper have a charm in them, but the effects of them in concurrence with other prudent methods, are almost irresistible. In sum, it is better to be overrun and ruined in the wayes of meekness, than to conquer all the World by cruelty; in the one we bear the cross and suffer for righteousness sake; in the other we triumph in the Garments of Anti-christ dyed red with the blood of those who though in errors, yet may be good men in the main for ought we know.

The third pretence, is from the severities of the old Testament, and that spirit of zeal, which was so much commended and set up for a pattern in the Instances of *Phinehas*, *Elijah*, and others. But our Saviour answered this when he was desired to suffer his Apostles to imitate *Elijah*, and to call for fire from Heaven; that was because they could not kindle it upon earth, otherwise they had begun there; but our meek and lowly Saviour rebuked them, and told them, *They knew not what Spirit they were of: And that the Son of Man came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.* That people was fierce and untractable, and as they had the Land of *Canaan* by an immediate grant from Heaven; so the Civil Government was kept in the hand

Luke 9. 55.

of

of God ; and sharp punishments were inflicted on those that broke those Laws by which they held all their possessions : But the dispensation of the Gospel is wholly Spiritual upon another bottom, and to be managed in another method.

Fourthly, The last excuse for these heats is from the practice of our Saviour, who severely laid open the hypocrisies of the Pharisees ; and the Apostles who writ warmly against false Teachers, by which a sharpness in speaking and writing seems well warranted. But if we consider that our Saviour certainly knew the Pharisees were Hypocrites, and did by the shew of strictness mislead the people, so that they were in danger to perish by their false Doctrines, and that no meekness, no reason, no nor the most wonderful miracles which he wrought, could work upon them ; it was necessary for the good of others to expose them. So if we manifestly see an Hypocritical sort of people misleading the World in points that indanger their salvation ; and are well assured that what we say is true, and that fairer means cannot prevail ; we not only may but ought to discover this : But this will not excuse those who believe every story, and propagate it meerly out of hatred to others, and know in their own Consciences that their chief concern is to disgrace those they hate, and not to preserve others, out of a principle of charity to them. There must be a great evidence to make us conclude a man an Hypocrite, even some one ill act will not amount to it : nothing but some very heinous crime, or an ill course in some sin, which the common illumination of all Christians discovers to be evil, and which they disguise with a colour of Religion, ought to justify the fastning this black imputati-

on on any : For God knows in how ill colours many would appear, if some of their secret actions were made publick, which may seem, and indeed are, heinous ; and yet they having truly repented of them, ought not to be so branded. We ought to judge charitably, and to be ready alwayes to put the best reasonable construction on other mens actions, that upon a fair representation they will bear ; and make such allowances for the errors and failings of others, as we know in our own consciences we would desire to be made for our own, if all the secrets of our lives were known. They are known to God, and ought to be remembered by our selves ; and in those cases, he that shews no mercy in his censures, is to expect judgement without mercy. But the force of this whole Objection will be better taken off by the fourth particular that I proposed,

4. Which is to consider the methods that Christ and his Apostles have prescribed for bringing us to Love and Unity.

Matth. 21. 29

John 13. 35.

Matth. 5. 44.

The whole life of our blessed Saviour was a continued course of meekness, and lowliness of mind ; and in these he proposes himself chiefly as a pattern for our imitation ; and it is scarce possible for men to quarrel much, that are under the influences of that happy temper : he hath made this the cognifance, *by which all the World shall know his Disciples, if they love one another* : And has not only charged us to love our Friends, but our Enemies, Persecutors and Slanders ; to bless them, to pray for them, and to do them all the good that is in our power. So that no excuse of ill usage can give us a priviledge to hate, to rail at, or revenge our selves of others. And we may see the sense he had

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of Unity and Peace among his followers, by his intercession with his Father for it; since in that prayer of his a little before he suffered for us, he in five several places prays, *That they might be one, as the Father and he were: That they might be one in them, and be made perfect in one.* And as our Saviour delivered this to his Apostles, so they in every Epistle did repeat the same exhortations with most vehement and mighty obtestations, as considering, That this was essential to the very Being and preservation of the Christian Religion.

John 17. 11,
21, 22, 23.

A Controversy arose then which raised great heats concerning the obligation which the converted Gentiles lay under to observe the Law of *Moses*: and there were some zealous Jews, who though they believed in Christ, as the true Messias, yet they adhered so fiercely to the Law, that they not only separated from the Apostles, but persecuted them, because they were for freeing the Gentiles from that yoke. This was a question of far greater consequence than those are about which we contend so earnestly: but in this we shall observe the gentleness of the Apostles, even towards those that did obstinately dissent from the determination which they made, though it proceeded from an infallible Authority. *St. Paul* writing to the *Romans*, as he expresses his love to the Jews in so high a strain, that he was willing to be accursed, that is, cast out of the Communion of Christians, if that would have induced them to come into it, (a very high pitch of Charity, which needs not be raised higher, as some fanciful people have done:) he likewise gives his sense of their contests in those matters concerning the observation of their customs in two

Rom. 9. 3.

Rom. 14. 6.

17. v.

5. 21, 22.

3. 4. 10. v.

19. v.

1 Cor. 1. 10, 11,
12.

13. v.

speculative Maximes; and in two practical rules, which are of general use, and on which he enlarges copiously. He first tells the n, That on both sides sincere men might follow their persuasions as to be accepted of God. *He that regardeth a day, regardeth it to the Lord: And he that regardeth not a day, to the Lord he doth not regard it:* He further sayes, That Religion lay not in such trivial things; *The Kingdom of God, that is the dispensation of the Gospel, consisted not in meats or drinks, (that is, in questions about clean or unclean meats) but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost:* and that *he who in these things served Christ, was acceptable to God and approved of men,* whatever he might think of other matters. Upon these two conclusions he grafts two rules; the one is, That every one should follow the clearest light he could have, *and be fully persuaded in his own mind,* and to do what he did upon an inward assurance, and *without doubting:* the other is, That men ought not to judge, or set at nought their Brethren; that the weaker ought not to judge the stronger, nor the stronger to despise the weaker; and that all should follow after the things which made for peace, by which they might edifie one another. All this is plain and decisive.

When he writ to the Corinthians, he expresses great grief for what he had heard of their divisions: Some were for Paul, that is those of the uncircumcision: Some for Cephas or Peter, that is, those of the Circumcision: Some were for Apollo, that is, those of St. John's baptism: And some were for Christ, who perhaps received Christ as the Messias and yet rejected the Apostles: Upon which he argues, That by this it appeared they were carnal and walked as men. And that they might not think he was partial to those that set up for himself, he particularly sets himself against

gainst them. He also by an excellent Simile taken from the several uses of the members of the natural body, exhorts them all, not to despise one another, but that every one in his station should be useful to the whole body, and to every member in it: and runs out into one of the greatest raptures that is in the whole Scripture in commendation of charity, which he calls not only, a more excellent thing than all the extraordinary gifts that were then in the Church; without which, doing miracles, suffering Martyrdom, or the giving all one had to the poor was nothing; but prefers it both to faith and hope.

Writing to the *Galatians*, though he encourages them with more than ordinary earnestness not to yield to the Judaizers, yet he gives them this necessary caution, That they should *by love serve one another, for all the Law was comprehended in this one word, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self*: And he adds these weighty words, on which we should all reflect much, *If ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not consumed one of another*. And giving an enumeration of the fruits of the spirit, he begins with these, *love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness and goodness*. He also exhorts the *Ephesians* to this, as that by which they should approve themselves as worthy of their holy calling, that *They should walk with all lowliness, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*: And the reasons he gives for it are eternally strong and binding: *There is one Lord, one faith, one Baptism, and one God, and Father of all*. In his Epistle to the *Philippians* it appears, how exactly he himself followed those rules, which he gave to others; for he being then a prisoner, some that envied his labours in the Gospel, and intended

12. Ch.

13. Ch.

Gal. 5. 13, 14,

15. 17.

22. v.

Ephes. 4. 2, 3,

4. 5.

Phil. 1. 15, 16,

17, 18.

to add affliction to his bonds, preached Christ not sincerely, but in pretence; yet he rejoiced that good was done by any person whatsoever, and upon what motives soever. And though men that suffer, are apt to be more touched with insultings and ill usage from their own friends, than they can be for any thing that their Enemies do to them; yet this did no way disorder him, nor did he thunder against those Hypocritical and insolent teachers. Upon this he goes on to recommend that temper to others which appeared so eminently in himself, and in the most tender strains of a true but moving Rhetorick he obtests them, *If there was any Consolation in Christ, if any comforts of Love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, that they would fulfill his joy, and be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, and of one mind: and that nothing should be done through strife and vain glory, but that in lowliness of mind, every one should esteem others better than themselves.* And in order to this he proposes to them the wonderful pattern of the humility and love of Christ.

Phil. 2. 1, 2, 3.

Col. 3. 8, 12,
13, 14, 15.

How effectually does he exhort the *Colossians* to put off all anger, wrath, malice and Blasphemy, that is, reviling and reproachful words, and to put on as the elect of God holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness and long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another: *If any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do you; and above all things put on Charity, which is the bond of perfection; and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which ye are called in one body.* He heard the *Thesalonians* were eminent for their mutual love, so that it was needless to exhort them to it, yet he beseeches them to encrease in it more and more; and since much meddling

1 Thes. 4. v. 9,
10, 11.

the Election of the Lord Mayor. 23

or the running about, are the chief occasions by which contentions arise, or spread; he charges them to study to be quiet, and to do their own business: to be at peace among themselves, to warn them that were unruly, to be patient to all men, and not to render evil for evil, but ever to follow that which was good. And in his Epistles to Timothy he gives us the Characters both of false and true teachers in relation to these things. Of the former he saies, They were proud knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, of which came envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, and perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds; but the reverse of this is, the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient in meekness, instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth. Insinuating, that instruction given in the spirit of meekness, was the likeliest way to bring this about. He also exhorts Titus to put the Cretians in mind, to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, to be ready to every good work, to speak evil of no man, not to be brawlers but gentle, shewing all meekness to all men. The chief scope of his Epistle to Philemon, is to perswade him to be reconciled to Onesimus, who being his servant had robbed him, and run away from him. He exhorts the Hebrews to provoke one another to love and to good works; and in order to that, not to forsake the assembling themselves together as the manner of some was, and to follow peace with all men: And to take care that no root of bitterness might spring up and trouble them, by which many might be defiled. For Dissensions are the buddings of bitterness in the mind, and do both disturb and corrupt those in whom they grow up.

Nor was this a stile peculiar to St. Paul; though it may

5. 13, 14.

1 Tim. 6. 3,
4, 5.

2 Tim. 2. 24,
25, 26.

Titus 2. 1, 2.

Heb. 10. 24,
25.

Heb. 12. 14,
15.

may be supposed that one reason, which made him insist so vehemently on it, & repeat this exhortation so frequently, was, That he reflecting on his own temper, when he was a Jewish Zealot, knew that it was a venom which might by degrees creep even into a sincere mind, and leaven and corrupt it under the colour of the being active in the cause of Religion, and so transform a man, and an honest man too, into an enraged fury, as himself was when under the power of those ill principles; though what he did, was the effect not of designed wickedness, but of Ignorance. St. James writes in the same strain against all furious Zealots, who were apt to boast of their zeal, and to face down the truth with their impudence, and pretended to great wisdom for the justifying what they did. He tells them, *that wisdom was not from above, but was earthly, sensual and Devilish: and that where bitter zeal and strife was, there was confusion and every evil work; but the wisdom that was from above, was first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without Hypocrisie; and that the fruits of righteousness were sown in peace, of them that made peace.* St. Peter keeps in the same path. He had formerly been under the sudden transports of ill tempered zeal, when he smote with the Sword those that came to seize on our Saviour, which he ought not to have done, since they were sent out by those who had a lawful authority; but it then appeared in him, that the rages of indiscreet heat do not agree with that disposition of mind so indispensably necessary to a Christian, which is a readiness to confess the truth, though the danger in doing it were ever so apparent: He therefore exhorts those, to whom he wrote, to *lay aside all malice and guile, and Hypocrisies, envies and evil speakings; that they would be all of one mind, having*
compassion

James 3. 13,
14, &c.

1 Pet. 2. 1.

compassion one of another ; that they would love as brethren, C. 3. v. 8, 20
be pitiful and courteous, not rendring evil for evil, nor railing
for railing, but contrariwise a blessing ; and that above all
things they would have fervent charity among themselves, which
would cover a multitude of sins ; and he exhorts all to add to 2 S. Pet. 1. 7.
their godliness, brotherly kindness and charity, as if godliness
could not be compleat without these. St. John in all his
Epistles seems to have had nothing more in his thoughts,
than to perswade those to whom he wrote to love one ano-
ther, which he does with the highest and most earnest Ex-
hortations to it possible: God is love, and he that dwelleth 1 S. Joh. 4. 16.
in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him ; he that loves his Ch. 2. v. 10, 11.
brother, abideth in the light, and there is no occasion of stum-
bling ; he has a serene and calm mind, and is not hurried
unto violent Transports: Whereas he that hates his brother,
is in darkness, and walks in it, for it hath blinded his eyes ;
it runs him on blindly to many Precipices, it carries him to
excessive Heats, and makes him act like a mad man: And
no wonder if it end in bloud and confusion ; for he that hates 1 S. Joh. 3. 15.
his brother is a murderer ; he murders him in his wishes,
and will not fail to put these in execution upon the first op-
portunity ; and to sum up all, By this we know, Ch. 3. v. 14.
says he, that we have pass'd from death to life, from the death of sin
to the life of God, if we love the brethren. St. Jude gives Jude v. 19, 15.
a Character of the Incendiaries that were then in the
Church, who did separate themselves, pretending to greater
sanctity and strictness, and yet were sensual, and had not the
Spirit, which appeared in these Instances, They were mur-
derers, complainers, who spoke great swelling words, and had
mens persons in admiration for advantage ; that is, were gi-
ven to Canting, and did blindly follow their Leaders. But
as he exhorts the Christians to contend earnestly for the faith, V. 3. v. 22, 23.
so in relation even to those grossly deluded and unruly di-
viders, he charges them to have compassion of some, and to

endeavour to gain upon them in the mildest manner; others whose tempers were rougher, were to be rescued by sharper methods, like the *pulling one out of the fire*; and these different methods were to be applied discreetly, as the condition of the person might require it.

And thus we see the Apostles in all their Epistles repeat these Exhortations with so much earnestness, that upon the whole matter it must be concluded, either this is not the Gospel, or those that differ so much from these Rules are not true Gospellers. I have enlarged on these things the more fully, because I must conclude, that if the Authority of such words does not prevail, it is a vain thing to go about to persuade any to these duties by other Topicks. Nor were these only Lessons given to Christians as political Precepts, in that Infancy and weakness of this Religion, which as their numbers increased, and their power grew, they might supersede: But we clearly see the ancient Christians thought they were as much bound by them, after the Emperors became Christian, as they were before.

When the last Persecution ceased, and the Calm and Protection of *Constantine's* Reign succeeded, the *Christians*, tho' many of them carried still the marks of the Cruelty of their Persecutions, in the loss of their Eyes or Limbs, yet endeavoured no Revenge on their Persecutors, no not in *Egypt*, where so many thousands of them had suffered; and the *Heathens*, for above an Age after that, continued to be in the chief Employments, both Civil and Military. And tho' this had made it easier for the Empire again to turn to *Heathenism* under *Julian*, yet upon his death no Cruelties nor Violences were employed; nor did they think the Disturbance given by *Arius*, and the small Party he then had, was to be prosecuted with a higher severity than Banishment. And tho' the *Arians* became cruel Persecutors, when the Court was governed by their Councils, act-
ing

ing more politically under *Constantius*, but violently under *Valens*, yet the Orthodox, who had complained of those Severities, did not retaliate, when the Empire fell into the hands of one that was so zealous for them as *Theodosius* was: and when *Nazianzen* saw some too much inclined to it, in the beginnings of his Reign, how earnestly did he study to moderate their Heats and Resentments? And tho' the *Donatists* were after many renewed Hearings condemned in *Constantine's* time, in every one of them, yet the Orthodox Party studied still to gain upon them, by the ways of love and meekness, till at last they grew insupportable, and fell upon the others, and robbed and wounded them, committing such Outrages, that the Bishops in *Africk* were forced to implore the Emperor's protection for their own safety; and yet the severity went no higher than Banishment, or fining of the most outrageous. And as *St. Austin* was not easily brought to consent even to so much, so afterwards when the Governors were punishing the *Donatists* for their Insolences, he was always interposing to mitigate the sharpness of the Law, and the rigor of their Proceedings. It is true, there were too great Heats in the Church, even then in the management of their Debates, yet till *Damasus* begun that mad prosecution of the *Luciferians* at *Rome*, these were not carried to violent degrees.

But as the purity of the Christian Religion grew corrupted, and iniquity did abound, then did love wax cold, and rage grew hot, till at last it flamed out in most terrible Persecutions, set on in the 12th. Century against the *Albigenses* at first. And that these might be managed with all the advantages possible, for the destruction of poor Innocents, new Courts were set up, and unheard of Methods were found out, for facilitating Processes, making a slight proof serve, and forcing the Party to accuse himself by

an Oath *ex Officio* ; these Courts, did also proceed upon secret Information, without Indictments or Accusers. In a word : Forms of Procedure were invented, such as even Tyrants had not used for the Crimes of Treason ; and all this to destroy such as could not submit to every unreasonable Doctrine, or ridiculous piece of Worship then set up. And they were not only satisfied with the Cruelties then practised, but they made Laws and Canons, (then esteemed more binding than Laws) by which all Princes were for ever bound to extirpate Hereticks. And because some might be better natured than easily to become the Inquisitors Hangmen, they were declared to have forfeited their Dominions, if they should be guilty of any lenity, which upon that fell to the disposal of the *Pope*. And lest some good natured Bishops might be backward and slow in it, they were likewise bound by the Oath which they took at their Consecration, to prosecute Hereticks to the utmost of their power. So the Bishops being thus sworn to condemn them, and Princes threatned with Deposition if their Sentences were not executed, it was scarce possible for these poor men to escape.

But we have not so learned Christ : We see clearly what Rules the Gospel gives in this Matter ; we ought to love one another as Brethren, and not to suffer our Zeal to degenerate into Rage or Barbarity, but must study to gain upon those who differ from us in the spirit of meekness, by which we may in time conquer their Mistakes, and at least bring them to a greater temper, through the gentleness of our deportment towards them, and incline them to have better thoughts of us, and that may prove an effectual mean to make them think the better of the Truth for our sakes. For the greatest part mens Affections do insensibly govern their Opinions, since few examine speculative Points as they lye before them, in the Arguments used about them,
but

but consider them in the lump, and generally judge of them by some prejudices which incline them to like or dislike such a sort of men.

One thing is to be said for Moderation, that it is the constant Plea of the unfortunate : all People when depressed, take Sanctuary in it, as a common place, upon which it is easie to say many popular things. But alas, how commonly is it forgotten by the very same Persons when the Wind and Tide turns? We hear even the *Papists*, for all their Inquisitions and Burnings, Plead for gentleness and favor, though in them it is scarce reconcileable to common Modesty. If there were nothing but opinion in the case, if they had not such a mixture of cruel Principles, with a blind dependence on a Forrain Power, that is bound by their own Rules, never to relent till Heresie is extirpated, and all Hereticks destroyed, I should be as earnest to stir up Compassion for them as for others: and as it is, I am sure we ought to carry so towards them, that it may appear we do not hate their Persons, and do nothing against them but as we are compelled to it for self-preservation, and even in the hardest things that a prudent care of our own quiet and safety may force us to do, all personal softness and gentleness towards them, is indispensably necessary to such as would shew themselves to be truly Reformed Christians.

Others Plead now for Moderation, though they have forgot it shamefully where they have Power, as the Congregations do now in *New-England*, and the *Presbytery* did in *Scotland*. The one impose under the pains of Banishment and Death in case of return; not only the Religion of their State, but many speculative points of Opinion, and other things that are certainly indifferent. The *Presbytery* in *Scotland* imposed the Covenant under the pains of Excommunication, upon which followed a Forfeiture

4. Article.

feiture of the personal Estate, and a Sequestration of the real Estate, and this all persons Men and Women were forced to Swear, though few could understand it; and one particular was not far from an Inquisition, that every one should discover all Malignants and Enemies to their Cause, in order to the bringing them to condign punishment, by which every man was Sworn to be a Spy and an Informer. These are ill Patterns, and as we ought not to imitate them, so we must govern our selves by very different methods, if we come under the Discipline of the Gospel.

4. And now I come to the last Particular, to make some Application of all this to this time, and the occasion you are now met about. We are now brought under one of the unhappiest Circumstances that a Nation or a City can be in. There have arisen amongst us such heats, so much bitterness, so violent an Aversion to one another, that it must needs beget great grief and sad apprehensions in all that look on, and judge Impartially. Those Animosities, which no wonder if, at the end of a long War, when our Wounds were bleeding, and our Sores were tender, did transport, especially the unhappy but worthy Sufferers a little, and were by a happy revolution, and a Gracious Oblivion, wisely buried and seemed quite extinguished, are now breaking out again with a violence almost as great as was during the War it self: and though we are still in Peace, yet such a temper appearing among us, we have no reason to expect it shall continue long. Tinder will catch fire from a spark. These heats are kept up by Libels and defamations, and all the methods that can blow upon them to kindle the fire the faster, and to make it flame out the more vehemently: and what must the end of these things be? All that we now feel is but the beginning of sorrows, if we are not so wise,

the Election of the Lord Mayor.

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as in time to know the things which belong to our Peace.

This were an unhappiness much to be lamented at any time: but what shall be said, when we are as it were called upon from Heaven, by such awak'ning Providences, to lay down our Contests, and to unite, for the preservation of our Holy Religion? Sure none believe themselves, when they say, we are not in danger of Popery: and none can think it but they who desire it, and so apprehend no danger in it; and if we come under the power of that Religion, none but Fools can hope that they shall escape the Severities they must fall under, if they do not intend to change with the Tide, and even such must resolve still to be suspected. Old Stories will be often remembered. What can reasonably preserve us from this, or that storm, which a mighty Potentate is ready to discharge on some of his neighbors, but our joining together in mutual Unity and Brotherly love? *England* is a Body so vast and strong, that if it is united both in Church and State, it cannot only defend it self, but so steadily hold the ballance, as to preserve as well its other Allies, as the Forraign Churches, some of which are now exposed to the rage of their Persecutors, if we do not continue dis-joynted at home till, all falls into one Scale.

Upon this occasion I cannot forbear to set before you the deplorable State of our Persecuted Brethren in *France*, whom neither the security of Irrevocable Edicts, nor the great Services done the Crown, and that not only in the last Age, but during the present King's Reign in the Wars of *Paris*, nor their peaceable submission and patience amidst all the oppressions they have groaned under for several years, which has not provoked them to the least undutiful behaviour, nor their great numbers and industry,

can

A SERMON *Preached at*

can preserve from those Cruelties they now suffer meerly for their Religion; for their carriage has been such, that their Enemies have not a colour for their Proceedings but that only. And now the last priviledge of the miserable, liberty to complain, is denied them. Thus we see what all Promises, yea and Laws, backed with great merit, do signifie, where that Religion once takes place.

I must acknowledge, that among the many sad Symptomes we are under, this is one good Sign, I am sorry to say it is almost the only good one, that God has raised up in us such a Spirit of Compassion for the poor Exiles, that come and seek shelter here: that the King does so graciously receive and encourage them, and the People do so bountifully relieve them: And among the other Glories of this Great City, the largeness of your Charities, and the tenderness of your Care on this Occasion, will be added to your Honour here on Earth, and to your Rewards hereafter in Heaven; and I hope what you have already given, is but the Earnest of what you will do, if the numbers of those that fly hither, continue to increase.

But tho' your Charity on this Occasion is a thing that well becomes such a Reformed Church, yet it is not all the Use that we are to make of so sad a Calamity. We know not how soon we may be reduced to the like Straits, and be brought under a Famine of the Word of the Lord, and be exposed to the fury of that bloody Religion. Let us therefore look up to God, that he may be merciful to us, and may pour out on us a Spirit of Repentance, to turn to him, and to forsake all our abominations, by which we have so highly provoked him, and dishonoured our holy Profession; and also a Spirit of Love and Charity, to unite us one to another. I shall not adventure to offer at any thing towards this, which belongs to the Government; or is to be the Subject of publick Consultations, but shall only say
this

this to private Persons ; If every one will endeavour to dispossess himself of Heat and Rancor, and will resolve to do all he can towards an Agreement ; and if we all pray earnestly for it, there will be no such difficulty in it as may be imagined. Hatred stirreth up strife, but Love covers a multitude of sins. If a better temper did possess us, we would either find out Expedients to accommodate our Differences ; or if we could not agree them, yet we might enjoy our Opinions, and still love one another ; and then there would be no great danger in the continuance of some different Speculations or Practices.

But if we will still look backwards, and be always reflecting on every thing that may exasperate more and more, and will not look forwards to that Precipice of ruine that is so near us, and to the only Mean that can save us from it ; I mean, a Reformation of our Manners, and a Composing of our Heats : If Libelling, and the defaming one another ; if the spreading of Lyes and Scandals, with design to make the breach wider, is still continued and encouraged among us, what is to be said ? This is of the Lord, and is a punishment for our other sins, and the forerunner of most terrible Judgments, which will come on us like an Armed man ; and then when it is too late for the Publick, we will be all of us ready to accuse our selves, and to condemn one another. God avert this and make us wise in time.

To conclude, I shall now propose a few things wherein we ought above all things to study to be united among our selves.

In the first place, Let us joyn in calling upon God earnestly, and directing our aims chiefly to his Glory, for the preservation of that Holy Religion, which by his Grace is settled amongst us. Let us not, by our ill Lives, provoke him to deprive us of so great a Blessing, and let us all resolve to spend some portion of our time, at least an

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hour every Week, in earnest Prayers to him for the Peace of his *Jerusalem* amongst us, and for continuing our Religion still with us. It is his Cause, and we ought chiefly to offer it up to him for his protection and defence: and if our sins do not defeat the design of our Prayers, we may hope that a considerable number of such Intercessors will procure great Blessings to us, especially we having the assistance of the prayers of those who have taken sanctuary among us; towards whom your bowels have been so opened, that we know we have many prayers put up by them which are set to our account.

In the next place let us joyn together in all dutiful expressions of sincere loyalty to our King; in an obedience to the Laws, and a reverent submission to his Government: that our Enemies may not have the least pretence to say, that the zeal we express for him, and our detestation of their Conspiracies, is only a disguise to as bad designs: let us go on in the wayes of submission and loyalty, and by these put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. Let all Insolent Libels and reproachful Discourses be held in detestation, and let us earnestly pray to God, the God of peace and love, to turn the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and of the Children to the Fathers, and the Disobedient to the wisdom of the Just; and that the happy day of an entire Settlement, and the burying of all Fears and Jealousies may come quickly, that so one spirit may animate both the King and his Subjects, and the Court and the Country. Let this be a part of our daily prayers, and let every one do all in his power towards it, and then we may hope to see again serene and quiet times.

Let us also consider one another as brethren: Let us bear with one anothers Infirmities: Let us give some allowances to the weakness of those that are misled, to the force

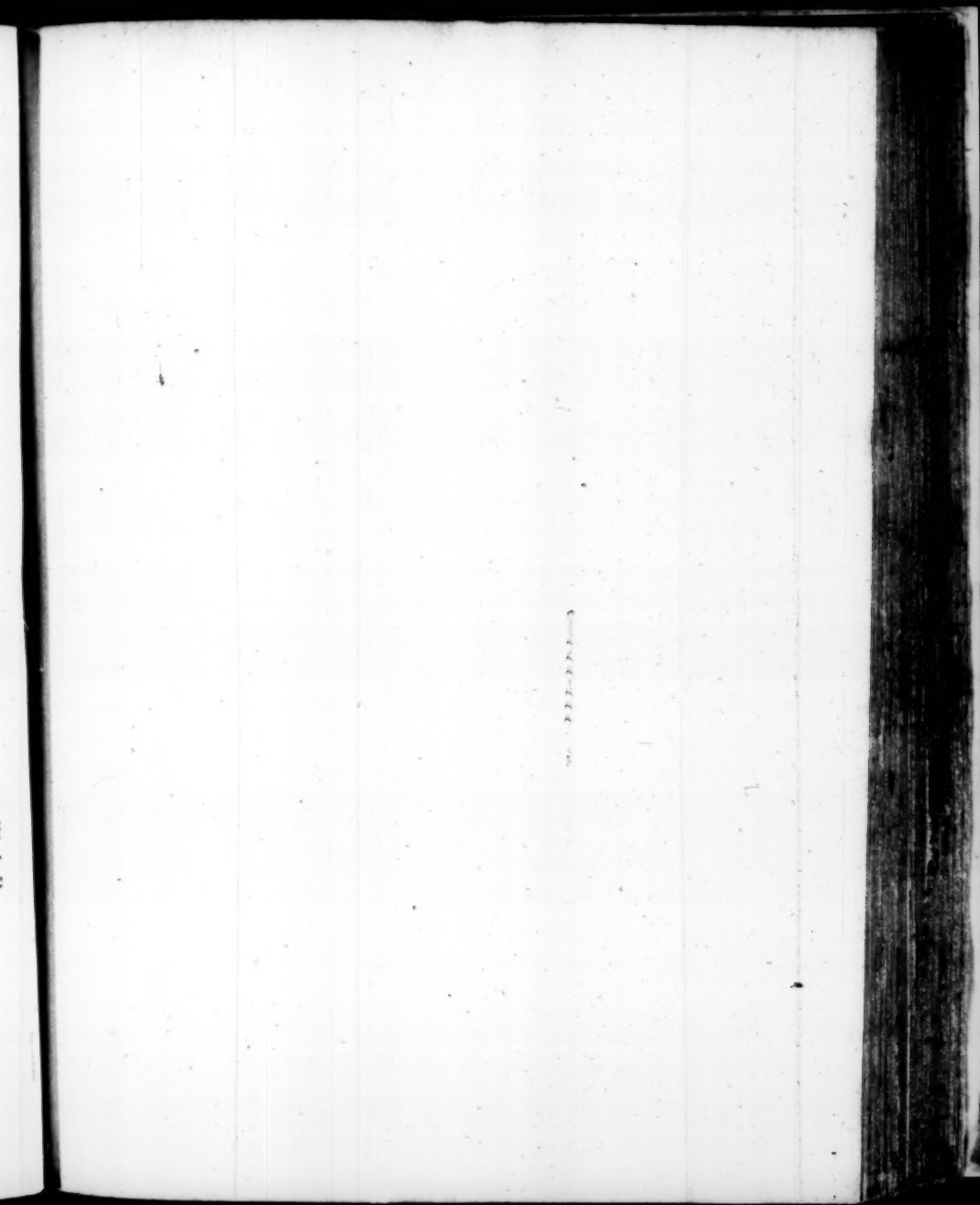
force of Education, and the bias of vulgar prejudices. Let us study to gain upon one another by gentleness and meekness. Let us have the danger of Inquisitions, Fires, and forreign Conquest more in our thoughts, and not contend still about some less essential or important points. Let not every trifling excuse be sought out to make or keep up divisions. Let not those that differ from us think, that because of some hard things which they may meet with, they are excused from all Reverence to their Superiours, or a disposition to be reconciled to those who may have used them ill in their Opinion. Let us not aggravate matters beyond measure, but judge of all things with candour and charity. In a word, let us endeavour if we can to be of one mind, and at least to have one heart, to love one another, and to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

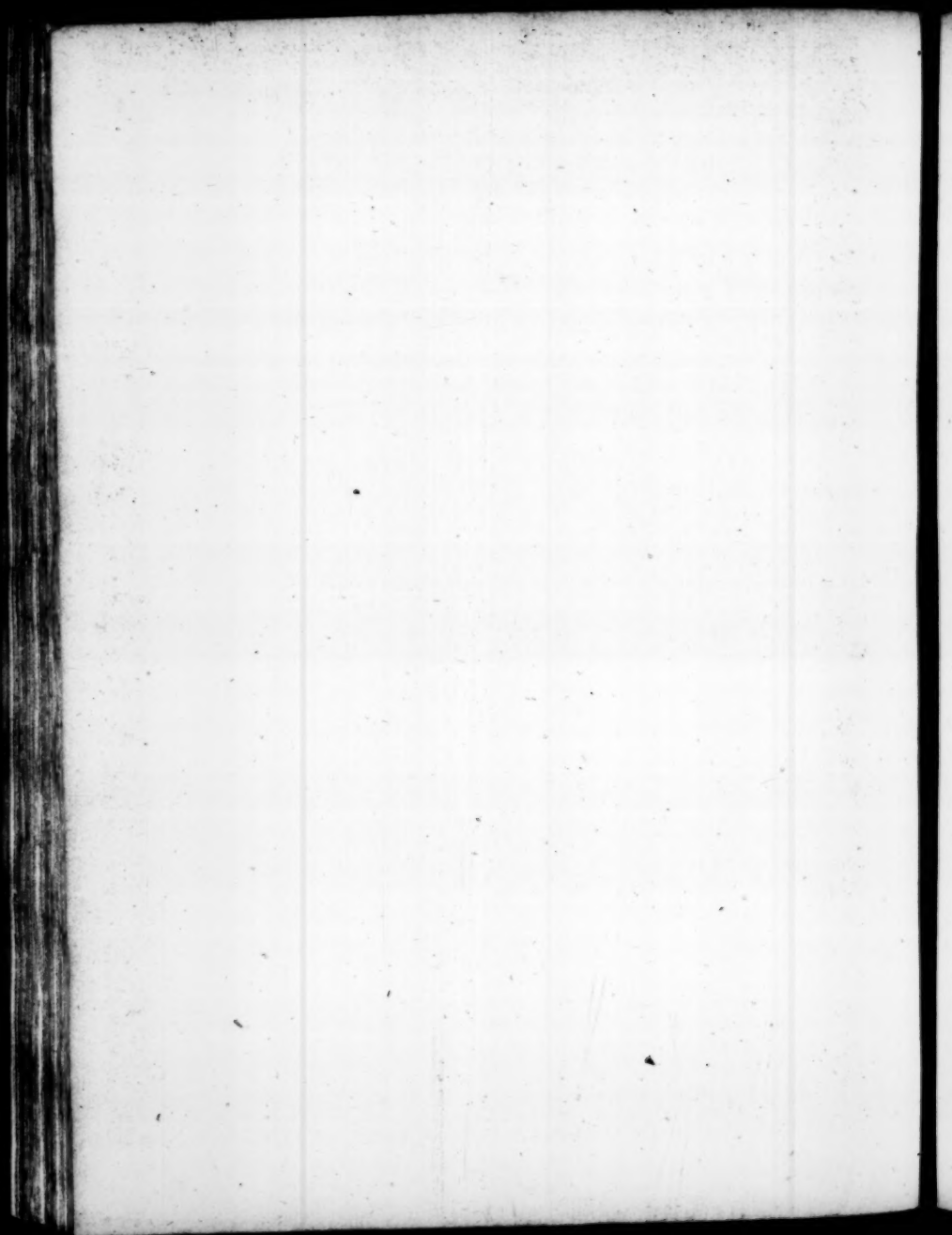
And in the last place, and in relation to our present Assembling, I humbly exhort you to proceed to the Election you are now to make, with a spirit of love and brotherly kindness, without faction or animosity, clamour and confusion, that so in the Choice of this great Magistrate, the Head of so great Body under the King, you may agree in a man that fears God, that honours the King, that may be an Example of a good Life, an Assertor of the true established Religion, a Maintainer of Justice, and a Promoter of Peace and Order amongst you. In which let us all pray to God to bless and direct you, and to make you still carry in your minds these words of our Saviour. *Every Kingdom divided against it self is brought into desolation, and every City or House divided against it self shall not stand.*

F I N I S.

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A
S E R M O N

Preached at the
F U N E R A L

O F

Mr. James Houblon,

Who was buried at St. *Mary Wolnoth*
Church in *Lombard-street*, June 28. 1682.

By GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

L O N D O N,



Printed for Richard Chiswel, at the *Rose and Crown*
in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDC LXXXII.

S E R M O N

F U N E R A L

Mr. James Boulton,

822:3728

Who was buried in the Church of St. James, London.

By the Rev. Mr. Boulton.

Printed by J. Boulton, at the Press of the Rev. Mr. Boulton.

Printed by J. Boulton, at the Press of the Rev. Mr. Boulton.



To the Most Honoured

| | | | |
|--------|---|----------|---|
| Master | { | Peter | } |
| | { | James | } |
| | { | John | } |
| | { | Jacob | } |
| | { | Isaac | } |
| | { | Abraham | } |
| | { | Jeremiah | } |

Houblon,

Sons of the Deceased Mr. JAMES HOUBLON.

Most Honoured,



A *I was invited by you to Preach this Sermon, so I am now determined by your Desires to Print it: and do esteem it a great honour, that I was made choice of by you, to do at once both a great Justice to the Dead, and I hope some good to the Living, at least, by that part of it which relates to your Worthy Father.*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Excellent Patterns afford great Instruction: and it is the more necessary to propose them to the Imitation of others, in an Age in which, while we are disputing so hotly about Opinions and Forms, the Power and Life of Religion is like to wear out of the World: and so few instances of it appear, that no wonder Atheists take great advantages from thence, to persuade their weak and lewd followers, that none believe inwardly what they outwardly profess: and upon this account, we have great reason to make the most we can of all those living arguments that have been among us of the efficacy and amiableness of true Religion.

When I received from you some informations concerning your dead Father, I perceived your chief design was, to have only so much told of him, as might preserve a just character of him to posterity; and particularly, for those descended from him: so as it might either engage them to follow his steps and imitate his Vertues; or remain as a warning against them, if they should decline from that good way which he both living and dying, has so earnestly recommended to you and them. But I found you had no mind to have his praises raised to any indecent pitch, or to have any thing said, that savoured of vanity; but that his Funeral Sermon should be as free from these, as his Life was; and that it should

The Epistle Dedicatory.

should so far resemble him, as that it should be all to edification, and therefore that nothing should be put in it for pomp or shew. In this, your inclinations agreeing so much with my own, it was easie for me, to observe this part of your desires very exactly: and I was very glad to find most of the Hearers agreed with me in that which in the beginning of his Character I say I expected from them; that they would think I had rather said too little, than too much.

I hope he shall still live in you all, and that you shall happily reverse the Fable of the multiplication of the Hydra's head, seven shooting out, for one that was cut off; so I am confident that we shall have now in you, seven Heirs to your Fathers Vertues and true Piety, and that every one of you will with a generous, yet kind emulation, study who shall come nearest that shining example which he set you: for which you shall never want the Prayers of,

Honoured Sirs,

Your most humble and most:
obliged Servant,

G. BURNET.

The English Dictionary

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From the old man from the
 'anxious beggar'

G. BURNET.



PSALM xxxvii. Vers. 37.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.



THINGS that are very unusual and strike upon our minds by reason of their novelty, do commonly attract our eyes, and fix our attention : New sights work somewhat on most people, and a great deal on the weaker sort. Men of remote Nations or Monstrous Productions are run after and gazed upon :

upon: but the proper subject on which every wise man fixes his thoughts, is that which can afford him such Instructions, that he becomes wiser and better by his observations: and indeed I am sorry to add, that there are so few of those objects, that if a desire to learn from them, does not work much on us, yet meer curiosity might produce more than ordinary care to observe them: for we do not see such sights every day.

Jer. 5. 1.

We meet with crouds of fools and madmen, of corrupt and crooked men every where, but for the *perfect and upright man* we may be justly called upon, as *Jeremy* did on the People of *Jerusalem*, to run to and fro through the streets, and to see and know and seek in the broad places thereof (somewhat like Exchanges or Market-places) if we can find such a man, if there be any that executeth judgement and seeketh the truth. If I tell you, that he who is to be the subject of a great part of this Discourse, was such a man, I hope it may be of some use, to let you see in what things this Character agreed to him; though it comes with this melancholy diminution, that he *was* and is no more among us. The
Prophet

Prophet promises in the Name of God, that upon their finding such a one, *he would pardon Jerusalem.* But though upon this occasion we cannot make that comfortable inference from the discovery we are now about, yet if the observing what he was, does in any measure dispose us to imitate him, then we may hope for a National Pardon, upon yet more certain grounds, unless our sins are grown to that pitch, that *God will not pardon them,* and that good men among us shall only be able to *deliver their own souls,* when the Day of our Visitation shall come upon us; which indeed does not seem to be very far from us.

But I shall prepare you for what I am to say concerning this *perfect and upright man*, by considering first the importance of the words which I have read to you. There is a great variety among the several Translations of them, which make them have very different senses. The *Hebrew* as it is pointed in our Bibles, is rendred exactly in our Translation; but the Seventy Interpreters have read it otherwise, which in *English* is exactly this, *keep innocence and behold uprightness, for there is*

a remnant to the peaceable man. They are followed by the Vulgar. The Chaldee Paraphrase renders them thus, *Keep integrity and behold uprightness, for the end of man is peace.* The Syriack has it thus, *Observe sincerity, and chuse uprightness, for there is a good end to the man of peace.* The Arabick is thus rendred, *Keep meekness, and thou shalt see uprightness; for there will be an end to the peaceable man.* We see all these Translators have read the words rendred in our Bibles *upright* and *perfect*, so, that they did not understand them of an *upright* and *perfect* man, but of *uprightness* and *perfection* in the abstract; which the same words a little varied in the pointing do indeed signifie. The word rendred by us *mark*, they have rendred *keep*, which it does strictly signifie; and because what we *mark* we keep in our memory, therefore it is often used in that sense. The word rendred *latter end* does also sometimes signifie a *reward*, because it is given at the latter end of the performance of that for which it was promised; and so the sense will be much the same, whether it be rendred thus, *There will be a reward at last for the men of peace*, or the *latter end of that man is peace.* Thus I have shewed

shewed the different wayes of reading and rendring these words; and in discoursing of them, I shall consider them in all these several senses which we see have been put on them, and shall speak to these particulars.

1. I shall shew you, what is meant by *perfection* and *uprightness*, or by the *perfect* and *upright man*.
2. I shall shew, how we are to *keep* and observe those Vertues, and what regard we ought to have for such as are eminent for them.
3. I shall shew, what is the happy end and conclusion of them, and of those that possess them.

And then I shall come to the Application to the occasion of our present assembly.

To return :

First, By *perfection*, we are not to understand, either such essential perfection as belongs only to that eternal being in strict-

ness of speech ; nor such a perfection as we hope for in another state ; but only such a perfection as makes any thing compleat in its kind ; that is , such a soundness in the faculties and powers of a mans soul, as makes him an entire man, that is, one that is truly a reasonable creature , acted and guided by reason. All that belongs to a thinking nature , is a clearness of understanding and judging , an obsequiousness in the will to the dictates of an enlightned mind , and a disposition to consider things carefully, which is the chief and best exercise of the freedom of the will ; together with the regulation of a mans inward affections and passions, and the conduct of his actions. He that has a considerable soundness in every one of these , is *perfect* in those parts that may be said to compose a rational nature : But in all these there are different degrees : some men have a greater extent of knowledge than others, though many of the pretenders to it, are too often employed about things that are either impertinent or hurtful to them : but every one may be called perfect in his knowledge , who rightly apprehends and judges well those things which relate to himself,

himself, who has his mind raised towards the best objects, and possessed with deep impressions of God and true goodness, and the rewards of another state : and the more deeply he considers these things, and the more frequently he reflects on them, he is so much the more *perfect*, how little soever he may know or relish those vain and empty Notions, which many magnifie as the highest flights of knowledge. Again, he who employes the powers of his will, and his faculty of choice, or liberty to turn his understanding to the best objects, and breaks himself either of an obstinate and ungoverned stiffness, or of a sluggish faintness and feeble easiness, and attains to a due firmness in his resolutions, and a stability in his purposes, avoiding the extreams of being too peremptory, or too yielding, is also *perfect* in this part of a rational nature; and if this temper prevails in the main current of a mans life, he may be well accounted a *perfect man*, though in some particulars and upon some occasions he leaves it behind him.

As for a mans passions and affections, he that resists their fury, and brings himself

self to an habitual calmness and gentleness, that is not sudden and violent, but deliberate and composed, that observes the weak sides of his constitution, and keeps himself at as great a distance as he can from that which may inflame him too much, that endeavours to raise his affections to the best objects, which make him strong against inferior objects and weak assaults, he that has learn't to make a right estimate and value of things, and studies to poise himself, so that none of the various accidents of life may very much alter him, that keeps a watchful eye upon himself, and is jealous of every thing that is apt to heat him too much, this is a *perfect man*.

I do not think a man unless he be extremely stupid, can really be perfectly the same in all the turns of his life; and therefore I am very apt to conclude, that the pretensions of the *Stoicks* in this matter, were either only extravagant boastings and vain affectations, or that they first brought their minds by a long constraint to a heaviness and dulness, by which the active powers of their souls were in a great measure enervated

enervated and stupified. That quickness of thought or acrimony in the mind which is called *affection* or *passion*, is often necessary to animate us to great undertakings, and to support us in difficult performances: and if a man could so far prevail on himself, as to root it out of his mind, it might perhaps enable him to suffer uneasie things with less pain, but it would mightily emasculate the vigour of his active powers. So I conclude, a *perfect man* is he that cools his passions, and governs his affections, and not he that roots them out entirely.

The last and most visible branch of this perfection, is a good and wise conduct of a mans actions: he that considers well the station that God has set him in, and the relation in which he stands, to the rest of mankind, together with the duties incumbent on him, and acts prudently and discreetly, that governs his tongue, so as not to give advantages against himself, nor to make enemies needlessly, that guides his affairs with discretion, that orders his family with prudent care and foresight, that lives to the good of mankind, that consi-

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ders himself born not only for himself, but for the publick good, and therefore layes himself out to do all the good that he can, first by his own example and the influence *that* may have on the world, and then by instructing, admonishing and directing those that are under his authority or influence, and is ready to assist, advise and relieve those that are in any difficulty, or stand in need of any thing that he can spare, this is the *perfect man*; and that temper is the *perfection* which we are to observe or keep.

I would not raise the notion of perfection too high, lest any should be discouraged from endeavouring to attain to it; nor let it fall too low, lest some may come too easily to imagine they are already perfect. It's good to have such high and great notions of Vertue as are on the one hand apt to excite a generous temper of mind in us; and yet on the other hand, are not impracticable Idea's, which subsist only in the imaginations of high-flown men. A man that has all these in a good and solid measure, is a *perfect man*, and a *perfectly religious man*,

man, though he has not yet attained to such degrees in every one of them, as he may hope to grow up to, after some years proficiency. Single instances and errors now and then may fall out, and yet he remain still a *perfect man*: for we are to remember a distinction between a perfection of parts, and a perfection in degrees: as a man in relation to his body is a perfect man, if he has all the Vitals within, and all the Organs and Members without, that belong to the structure of his Body, though there is not in all that exact symmetry of parts, nor that agreeableness in every one of them.

As for *uprightness* or the *upright man*, the true Notion of this will be easier formed, and the sooner dispatched. *Uprightness* is an exact correspondency between a mans thoughts and his words and actions, when a man is possessed with such a candour and probity of mind, that he lyes under no temptations to disguise or dissemble his thoughts, so that integrity and truth is that to which he trusts, as knowing it *will preserve him*; and Psal. 25. 22. therefore concludes, that he *who walks uprightly*, Prov. 10. 9.

walks surely : when a man is so far raised above the World, that neither a desire to recommend himself to any, by abject flattery, nor to make unreasonable gains in his dealings, can work on him, so as to say any thing otherwise than as he thinks, he is an upright man, and such as alwayes *speaks the truth as it is in his heart*. This straightness of soul, supposes many things necessary to prepare a man to it: he must be both innocent and humble, moderate in his designs, and free from covetousness: for any of all these things will make a man warp insensibly, and bend into some crooked postures, which after a long bending, will grow to be so strangely rooted, that that which *is crooked cannot be made straight*: and when a man lets his integrity once go, the fears of a discovery, together with the other ill consequences of it, and that fatal train that is in ill actions, by which one draws on another, will make it much harder to recover it, than it is at first to maintain it. And if a man can once so far prevail over those honest and candid dispositions that are in him, as to let himself cool and sleep and go on, in any thing that

that is indirect or disingenious, he will come to be so fortified against those tenderesses and awakenings of Conscience, that he is in a probable way of growing up to any pitch of wickedness to which he may be tempted.

And thus I have considered the importance of this Character, the *perfect and upright man*, or *perfection and uprightness*.

I come next to the Second Particular, which is the observation and regard we ought to have to such persons or such a temper. We ought to *mark* them well; to consider what they offer for our imitation, and to keep well in our memory that instruction which their example affords: and as we observe them, so as to learn from them, so we ought to carry in our minds such a sense of their Vertues, as to make us esteem them highly while they live, and pay all due honour to their memories when they are dead.

First, We are so to *mark* them as to learn from them, and are to lay up in our memories

mories what we have observed in them; and thus we may both mark the *perfect man*, and preserve or keep up that same temper in our selves: There is no way more effectual to the study of Vertue, than the observing the excellent patterns that good men set us. In them Vertue appears cloathed with all those circumstances, that may both represent it more amiable, and make it be more easily imitated by us. The abstracted and Philosophical Idea's of Vertue are indeed very beautiful and convincing to them that can frame them right, and pursue and apply them well; but every man has not that strength of apprehension, and clearness of judgement that is necessary for this: and general rules are so diversified by various circumstances, that every one has not a faculty of applying them to the several actions and in the various turns of life: and therefore when God was to instruct mankind in the excellentest way of Religion that was ever proposed, which was delivered in the greatest simplicity of expression that was possible, he set at the same time before us the perfectest pattern that ever was. *The Word was made flesh and dwelt among men:* and the greatest part
of

John 1. 14.

of the Gospels consists rather of a Narrative of his holy and exemplary Life, than of an exact system of his Precepts : for the one is contained and delivered in the other. In him we see those shining Vertues of Patience, Contempt of the World, Humility, Meekness, Submission to the Will of God, Zeal for his Glory, and an unwearied readiness to do good, which could not be overcome by the most ungrateful and injurious returns that were possible.

There is this difference between that and all other patterns, that we cannot exceed in our exactness of imitating it : whereas we may grow affectate and apish in imitating any other pattern. The best men have their defects and failings, which made St. Paul restrain and limit our being *followers* of the Apostles themselves; by this Caution, *as they were followers of Christ.* There are also particular humours in very good men, which do well enough in them, being natural to them, and being set off with many other excellencies that are in them; but these being more visible and coming under more common observation, some vain and foolish persons

persons hoping to be thought like those excellent persons, by an affectation of some Gestures and Customs that were peculiar to them, make themselves thereby the objects of the scorn of the Wise and Judicious. We are to observe what is truly excellent and useful in those whom we have known, and as to small matters, we are still to do that which is most natural, and has least of constraint in it.

It is a great blessing for one, especially in his young and tender years, in which he is scarce capable of any thing but imitation, to have this easie and profitable way of instruction offered to him: and every one is to consider, that this will be put to their account, and that they have a great deal to answer for on this very reason. If Divine Providence was thus before-hand with them, and laid such a happiness in their way so early, that good impressions did prevent all bad ones, then what a heavy charge will it be, if they have endeavoured to blot all these out, and to superinduce bad ones?

But

But as we owe our selves the good Improvement of this way of Instruction, so we owe those Persons, to whom the Characters in my Text agree, great esteem and reverence as long as they live, and all due respect when they are dead. We ought to look on them *as burning and shining Lights, and are to rejoice in their Light*: we ought to consider them as the *Salt, the Light,* and the *Pillars of the Earth*: we do not know how much we owe them for the lengthning out of our Tranquillity, their very being in the World may be a mean to suspend such Judgments in which they might be involved, and their Prayers and Intercessions have certainly great Efficacy; so that every time we see such a Person, it should rejoyce our Heart, and we should conclude there goes one of the Preservers and Supporters of the Nation, if not of the World; for when the number of the Elect is accomplished, then the rest are not to expect those common Favours of Day and Night, of Times and Seasons, of Sun-shine and Rain, in which the wicked share more for their Neighbour-hood to good Men, than upon their own account. We are to do nothing to grieve them, nor to make those Lives that are so usefull to

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us, uncomfortable to themselves. Every Man is to consider a truly Good Man as his Benefactor, and as a sort of a Father to him : but those who receive a more immediate Blessing from them, owe greater returns of tender Affection and reverent Duty.

When they die, we are not to afflict our selves with an unmanly Sorrow, especially if they have lived out their course, and die in a good old Age, full of Dayes, and full of Children : but the true Decencies and Solemnities of a Religious Mourning require better and more useful Exercises. Those more immediately concerned in them, ought to reflect on their Lives, and gather, as the remains of a Shipwrack, all that was memorable in them ; that so that which Humility and Modesty required should be kept secret while they lived, may be then published to the honour of Religion, and for the instruction of others ; and in particular to be a Remembrance to those relating to them, or descended from them. And, above all things, when such are withdrawn, who, as may be reasonably supposed, were a publick Blessing to the Nation, those who survive, especially such as do more immediately fill up their room in other

ther respects, ought to set themselves with all possible care to make up that Loss to the Publick, and so endeavour to imitate, and as much as they can to outdo them (for in such a Case, Emulation even with ones Father is a Vertue) in all those excellent things in which they were a Pattern to them, and a Blessing to the Nation, or place where they lived. Thus, if we so mark *Perfect and Upright Men*, as to keep the like temper in our selves, then we fully comply with the Duty in my Text.

The third Particular is the happy End and Conclusion of those Vertues, and of them that possess them. What ever the exact rendring of these Words may be, of which I made mention in the beginning of this Discourse, it comes all to one purpose, that either those *Men of Peace* shall have a good End, or that their End shall be Peace. By this Peace in their End, we are not to understand an easie or peaceable Death, tho' perhaps in the old Dispensation, that consisted much in Temporal Promises, this might have been a part of their Reward. But under the Religion of a Crucified Saviour, and the Dispensation of the Cross, we are not to promise

our selves an Exemption from uneasy and painful things, neither in our lives, nor at our death. The greatest Glory of the Christian Church hath been in their Deaths, literally *burning and shining Lights*, and in those fiery Chariots have triumphed over the World; and what the Psalmist observed under the Old Testament, is much oftner verified under the New, that *the*

73 B. 4. *wicked have no Bands in their Death*, and both living and dying, seem to have great Advantages over good and vertuous Men; of *whom, as the World is not worthy*, so it does not know the Value it ought to set on them, nor the Use it ought to make of them: But *verily, there is a Reward for the Righteous*, because *there is a God that judgeth in the Earth*: and since he doth not always give them their Reward in this Life, it is certain he has provided one for them after it; and in order to their having a full Reward and an higher degree of Happiness in the next State, he does exercise them often very severely as to all outward Appearance in this Life.

PL. 58.2.

But if they have not a great measure of Peace neither living nor dying; yet upon the Separation of their Souls and Bodies they do then enter

ter into Peace, and into the Joy of their Lord, into those blessed and peaceful Habitations, where none of those Jars and Contentions with which this World is exercised, disturb their Rest. No Disputes about Religion, no Factions of State, nor that everlasting Quiet, which they always enjoy, when they adore the God of Peace, and follow the Lamb, the Prince of Peace. The Contests and Heats now among us must needs make all the Sons of Peace grow weary; and wish with the Psalmist, that they had Wings like a Dove, so that they might fly away and be at rest, and hasten their escape from the windy Storm and Tempest; for certainly we are fallen heavily under the Curse in the following Words: Destroy, O Lord; and divide their Tongues; for I have seen Violence and Strife in the City: and when it is come to that, that to be a Man of Peace, is look'd on as an ill Character, of one that is either luke-warm and indifferent, or is a false, and temporizing Man, who would not long for those cool and silent Shades of the Grave, and for that Peace that is in the Regions beyond it? And since this is not in a Man's Power to bring it sooner on him, than as it is ordered by Divine Appointment, it would at least make a
Man

Ps. 55. v.
6, 7, 8, 9.

Man seek a retreat in some solitary Place, where he might neither hear nor see any more of the disorders and madness of a wicked World, than were necessary to direct him in his Prayers and Intercessions: or, if this is likewise denied one, and that his Station and Circumstances oblige him still to live in the World, it will at least have this effect on him, to make him have as little meddling, and to live as much within himself as he can; and to maintain within himself that Peace which he has ineffectually endeavoured to advance in the World: and certainly when ever Death comes on a good Man, it will be so much the more welcome to him, because he can find very little Pleasure in living among People that seem to have lost both their Temper and their Wits. Let us raise our Thoughts and Hopes above this present World, and encourage our selves, that tho' we live uneasy here, and tho' we may be perhaps called to end our Days in a most terrible manner, which may prove our Punishment for those many Sins, for which tho' God will be merciful to us with relation to another State, yet he may think fit to correct us severely for them in this Life; yet if we continue so to *mark the perfect*
Man

Man, and so behold the Upright, as to follow their Steps, then as their End is Peace, so shall ours likewise be.

I have now gone through those Particulars which I propos'd; the Application is still behind; and this relates to this sad Occasion that now calls us together. I am next to tell you what you are to mark in this perfect and upright *Man*, who has now entered into Peace. But how should I adventure to speak of one that lived so long, and in so eminent a Condition amongst you, of whose Praises you who knew him are now so full! He that had not that Happiness, must be forgiven, if he doth not describe him with those Advantages that another might have, who had observed him long, and had known him intimately. I will be strictly cautious in what I shall say, because I know that excessive Commendations, which are too ordinary on these Occasions, have this ill Effect among many others; that because, perhaps there is a little too much said, the whole is disbelieved; and generally those Discourses are considered, rather as a flattery of the Living, than a peice of Justice to the Dead. I shall therefore rather
lessen

lessen things than enlarge them ; and shall tell you nothing but that of which I have good Assurance, and that upon such Information that I have no reason to doubt of it. It is, I confess, some comfort that I am to speak of a Man that was well known in this very place, so that I am perswaded many that hear me, shall say, I have rather said too little than too much.

Mr. *James Houblon* was descended from that worthy Confessor, Mr. *Houblon*, a Gentleman of *Flanders*, who above an hundred Years ago fled over to *England*, from the Persecution that was raised there ; against all that embraced the Purity of the Christian Religion, and rejected the Idolatry and Superstition of the Church of *Rome*, by the Duke of *Alva*, who proceeded in it with all the Rigor and Cruelty with which that bloody Religion could inspire a Man of so fierce a Temper, acting under a King no less bloody than his Religion ; that, as a second *Herod*, defiled his own House with the Blood both of a Son and a Wife, and having resolved to root out of the World the Purity of the Christian Religion, and to that end having set up the bloody Tribunals of the Inquisition, he

put

put those Provinces under that implacable Governour. Then all that received the Reformation, were reduced to those hard Straits, which how far they are from us, the only wise God only knows, either to act against their Consciences, and worship as a God that which they believed was but a piece of Bread, the most brutal and unaccountable of all the sorts of Idolatry, or to seal their Faith with their Blood, and that with all the Preparatives of Torments before it that merciless Inquisitors could invent, and in Conclusion, to be burnt at a Stake, and destroyed in such numbers, that no fewer than 18000 were reckoned to have suffered by the hand of the Executioner in seven Years time, or as the least dreadful, to sit down with the loss of all they had, and fly for their Lives to other Countries. This last being the most eligible, where it can be done, our Saviour having allowed us, *when we are persecuted in one City, to flee to another*, was the choice of that noble Person, who did by this Action both ennoble himself, and all that descended from him. It is true, in such Persecutions every one cannot possibly fly; tho' this is but a melancholy Comfort, that one by leaving their Country and Friends, and all

E

they

Mat. 10.
23.

they have, may hope to get safe, tho' almost naked, to another Kingdom; yet even this small Mercy is denied under the Influences of that cruel Religion. Here in *England* in *Q. Mary's* Time, the Strangers were suffered to go away, yet care was taken to secure the Ports, and not to suffer Natives to fly beyond Sea, when they were resolved to burn them at home; and now in *France*, when Methods are taken to make those of the Reformed Religion, either die of Famine and in Misery, or to force them to commit Idolatry, it is made capital to fly, and those that endeavour it are to be condemned to the Gallies. But I cannot leave this matter without encouraging you to go on in your Charities, and Readiness to relieve those that are forced to come and take Sanctuary among you. You see what the Nation and this City has gained by the Reception of the Strangers that fled hither for refuge in the last Age: You see how great a Citizen you had in him that is now dead, and into how many he is now divided, who by their Interest could almost make a City alone: and you do not know how many such may be in the Loins of those that now come among you, who may produce many to be
as

as great Blessings to the next Age, as this Family is to the present. But to return to this *Upright Man*.

He was born in this City, the 2^d of July, 1592; so that he wanted but a few days of being 90 Years of Age when he died. He was baptized in the *French* Congregation, and continued a Member of it his whole Life; he married one of his own Country-Women, the Daughter of Mr. *Ducane*, who fled over hither upon the same account; so that this Family is descended from Confessors on both sides. He was one of the chief Pillars of that Congregation, in which he often served as *Antient*, and to the support of which, and of all the poor Exiles that came over, he contributed always so liberally, that if he did not still live in so many Children, to whom God has given Hearts as well as Fortunes like his, this loss would be very sensibly felt. He did communicate once a month constantly, and was never absent from their Assemblies either on the Lord's-day or on the Week-day, and this was become so customary to him, that it was not without difficulty, that he was kept from going thither even during his

E 2 Sicknes.

Sickness. He was known to be a very devout Man and frequent in Prayers, both in publick and private; he was always breathing out that deep Sense he had of Religion to those about him, more particularly to his Children, on whom, as he took care to have them all religiously educated, so as they grew up, he continued still to exhort them to go on in that good way in which he had early initiated them, and he often recommended to them secret Prayer, as the great means of keeping up the Life of Religion, which he thought could not be kept up without it; and not being satisfied with what he said to them by word of Mouth while he lived, he took care that after his Death he should still speak to them, in a great many excellent Letters and Papers which he left behind him, both for all his Children in general, and for every one of them in particular, of which I have seen some, and must say this of them, that they express a most genuine and lively sense of Religion, without any laboured Periods, or Affectations of Words or Phrases, but with a Simplicity which shews he writ as his Heart dictated; of which I will give you an Essay, taken out of the Letter he writ for them all in general.

[The

‘The Lord blefs you all, and give you
 ‘his Grace, that you may love and fear him all
 ‘your days. O! labour with all your Might
 ‘to be holy in all manner of Conversation,
 ‘efchewing all Evil, and the Appearance there-
 ‘of. Be charitable to the Poor, live in Unity and
 ‘Love among your felves; which if you do in
 ‘Sincerity, you may expect God’s Bleffings up-
 ‘on your Endeavours, fo far as they be law-
 ‘ful. Forget not daily Prayers in your Fami-
 ‘lies, and walk humbly before him all your
 ‘days; if you do that which you ought as Chri-
 ‘ftians, you will find Mercy with the Lord,
 ‘and Refpect with good Men. The Lord in
 ‘Mercy blefs you all (my fweet Ones) prin-
 ‘cipally in Spiritual Bleffings, *Amen.*

‘It is, I affure you, my daily Prayer, that
 ‘you may fo do, *Amen.*

‘All my drift in all my Papers has been, that
 ‘you may live holily and righteoufly before
 ‘the Lord in this your Pilgrimage, that fo you
 ‘may be happy to Eternity, when time fhall
 ‘be no more, and that through his free Grace
 ‘and

‘ and Mercy in our Blessed Saviour and Pre-
‘ cious Redeemer; for without Holiness and
‘ Sanctification none shall see him with Com-
‘ fort. O love the Lord, and all Men, and live in
‘ Love one with another, if you expect God’s
‘ Blessing.

And in relation to the Government, he left
this Charge on them. ‘ Fear the Lord and ho-
‘ nour the King, praying daily for all whom
‘ God hath set over you in Church and State,
‘ that so you may under them live a godly and
‘ peaceable Life.

You see how fervently and seriously he re-
commends the Fear of God, and mutual Love, to
his Children. As he saw them to his great
Joy, live in this blessed Harmony, during his
own Life, so he took all possible care to have
it kept up after his Death; for he charged them
to enter into solemn Promises upon his removal
to continue still to love one another; which
they are resolved religiously to perform; and
of which no doubt very happy Effects will
appear.

As

As he was very sensible of the Blessing of Brethren dwelling together in Unity, so his Love and Charity were more diffused than to be restrained only to his own Family. He had an universal Charity for all good and worthy Men, against which let hot and angry Men say what they will, it is, and still will be the Badg of a true Disciple of Christ. He never engaged in our unhappy Differences; but, without meddling in matters that did not belong to him, he loved all that was good in all Men, and extended his Charity to the Relief of proper Objects of all Perswasions, both in City and Country: Of which I need say the less, because it was so eminent, and so many did partake of it. And he took particular care to manage this so secretly, that often the Persons themselves knew not from whence their Relief came: He did also industriously seek out such proper Objects for it, without putting modest but necessitous Persons to the uneasiness of asking it. He himself, while in the City, did always joyn with the *French* Congregation, but when he was in the Country, he joyned in the Worship of the Church of *England*.

He

He looked on the Reformed Churches, by reason of the unreformed Lives of the Members of them, with great regret, and did apprehend there was a severe Cup to go round them, and was afraid *England* might drink the Dregs of it, and might be again brought under the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*, and the inundation of a Forreign Power, in which we have all reason to pray God that his Fears prove not too prophetical: of this I have seen a full account in one of his Letters to one of his Children, which was sealed up with his Will.

I need not enlarge upon other Particulars, of his Justice and fairness in his Dealings, of his gentle and affable Deportment to all Persons, and of his readiness to do all the Good that was in his Power: you all know so much of those things, that I may well say the less, for I find his Memory lives, and is like to maintain itself long in this place: the Witneses of his Vertues being so many and the Instances of them having been so frequent and so signal. ;

Thus

Thus we see what a *perfect* and *upright* Man he was ; now let us a little consider what his *latter end* hath been. This good Man had a great deal of that hundred-fold which our Saviour promised even in this Life, to those who forlook their *Houses, Lands and Families for his sake*. This entail descended on him from his Father, and he having taken care to secure and maintain his Title to so great a Blessing, has had as visible and long a share of the good things of this Life, as, all things being put together, any Man in this Age has had.

Mat. 19.
29.

He lived 90 Years, all to a few days ; and the last 35 years of his Life, till a little before his Death, he enjoyed a vigorous and perfect Health, together with the greatest of all earthly Blessings, the perfect use of his Senses, his Memory, and Judgment : so that he continued to write many Letters weekly till his last Disease fell upon him.

About 47 years ago, an unhappy Accident had almost cut him off, when he was yet in the Strength of his Age ; he being at a Training
F near

near *Morefields*, some Powder took fire, by which he, with several others, were blown up; but tho' some of the rest were struck dead outright, yet God had a great deal of more Service for him in the World, and so after an Illness of six or seven Weeks continuance, of which it was long doubted, whether he could ever recover, he was again restored to his Family, and lived to see his *Childrens Children*, and some of their *Children*; to so great an Increase, that in his time a full hundred came into the World descended from him, all born in full time, and all baptized save one: of these, 67 are yet alive, to which, if eleven, that are come into his Family by Marriages, be joyned, there wanted but two of fourscore, that had right to his daily Blessing. And so entirely did the first Blessing of *Encrease and Multiply* rest on him and his Children, that there was never an Abortive nor a Child dead-born in all his numerous Family: A rare and singular Happiness, to which very few have ever been known to have attained. I shall not add any thing of the Comfort he had in them, tho' that is a necessary Ingredient to make such things Blessings indeed, but that belongs too much to the Living, to be insisted on by me.

Having

Having thus lengthened out his Days with a great Increase both of Family and Fortune, he at last for several Years withdrew himself from all worldly Affairs, and so lived only to fear God, and do Good. He having so entire a Health, so plentiful a Fortune, and the Freedom of that Leisure which he gave himself, added to his Crown of Gray-hairs, and the Crown of his Children, that of *Good Works*, and at last exchanged them all for a Crown of Glory.

A few days before *Christmas* last, he was taken ill, and tho' it might have been imagined that in so ancient a Man, Nature was so far spent, that it could not have held out long; yet the length of his Distemper, the great Pains and Agonies he endured for about six Months, and the Fever in which his Life ended, shewed that there was still a great stock of Vigor and Strength in him: but tho' his Memory and Judgment were sometimes clouded during his Sickness, yet it appeared that Goodness and true Piety were become, by long Use and Practice, so natural to him, that when the Clearness of his Mind was much darkened, yet

the excellent Temper of his Soul remained with him to the last.

During his long Sickness, and under all the returns of Pain, which were sometimes very violent, he was never heard speak one impatient word; but was almost always either praying to God, or praising him; he caused the Scriptures to be read, and Psalms to be sung often about him, and heartily prayed for all that came to see him, and amidst those his Agonies, he did not forget the Churches of God both at home and abroad. The last sensible Words he spake to his Children were the Night before he died, upon his Sons coming to see him; he prayed God *to bless them, and their Children, with all Temporal Blessings, and above all, with Spiritual Blessings*; after this he spoke nothing perfect to any of them, but was heard say in a Devotion to God; *My Soul doth magnify the Lord, and my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour*, which he repeated several times; and as these words were a very proper Conclusion to such a Life, so they were, the last he spake distinctly. And tho' it was likely that so long a Sickness in so aged a Person had so shaken the whole
Fabrick;

Fabrick, that the Separation of that Soul and Body that had dwelt so long together would have been easy and perhaps insensible, yet it proved otherwise, for he lay many Hours in his last Agonies ; but in Conclusion, God took pity on, and released him, so that he entred into his Rest on the 20th of this Month.

Thus was this *Righteous and Merciful Man* taken away ; he has now entred into Peace, and we are to lay his Body in this his Bed, the Grave. I wish we may all lay it to heart, and consider well *whether this righteous Man is not taken away from the Evil to come*, which certainly must come on the sooner, for the loss of those that stand in the breach while the measure of our Iniquities seems to be very near filled up : for as it is in the words after my Text ; *The Transgressors shall be destroyed together, and the end of the wicked shall be cut off : But the Salvation of the Righteous is of the Lord, he is their Strength in the time of Trouble ; and the Lord shall keep them and deliver them ; he shall deliver them from the Wicked, because they trust in him.*

God

God of his infinite Mercy give us Grace so to mark and follow this and all other *perfect* and *upright* Men that have gone before us, and entered into *Peace*, that we may dy the Death of the Righteous, and that our latter end may be like his; that is, that our *end may be Peace*. To which, let us earnestly pray to God that we may attain, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that came to make Peace, who is over all, blessed for evermore; *Amen*.



FINIS.

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News from France :

IN A

LETTER

Giving a RELATION of the
Present State of the

DIFFERENCE

Between the

French King

AND

The Court of Rome.

To which is added,

The *Popes Brief* to the *Assembly* of the *Clergy*, and
the *Protestation* made by them in *Latin*, together with an
English Translation of them.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Richard Chiswel*, at the *Rose and Crown* in
St. Paul's Church-yard. MDC LXXXII.



Notes from France :

IN A

LETTER

Giving a Relation of the

History of the

DIFFERENCE

between the

French King

07:3729

The Count de Armand

The Count de Armand

The Count de Armand



News from France :

In a LETTER giving a Relation of the present state of the difference between the *French King* and the Court of *Rome*.

S I R,



N obedience to your Commands, I send you herewith a Copy both of the Pope's last Brief to the Clergy, and of the Protestation made by them. But I know these will not fully answer your expectation, nor satisfy your Curiosity, unless accompanied with a more particular account of the state of that affair, such as a stranger who is not yet so happy, as to be let in to much

A 2



much of the Conversation of this place, could pick up in so short a time. It is true, the *French* are apt to talk, and upon this occasion, it is no hard thing to engage them into much discourse, especially when their tears do not check the freedom of Speech that is so natural to the Nation: for being now safe under the protection of the Kings Authority, and secured under the covert of Edicts and an Assembly of the Clergy, they are ready enough to speak out what they formerly disguised, or trusted only to a few confiding persons.

As for the Generality of the Inferiour people here, and the Women, they appear to be more addicted to the See of *Rome* than could have been imagined. The Popes Infallibility passes among them for an Article of Faith; so they are much scandalized at the reports which are secretly set about by the Monks and Fryars, as if the King were like to be abused by the Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, and engaged in a Schism from the Chair of *St. Peter*; and it is said, that that Prelate hopes by these means, to be made Patriarch of *France*, and so to become very little Inferiour to the Pope himself; and in time, if the design of the Universal Monarchy goes on, which is the common discourse of this Court, then as the Patriarch of the *French* Empire, he may pretend at least, to be made in all things equal to the Bishops of *Rome*, as well as the Bishops of *Constantinople* were anciently when that City was made the Seat of the Empire. It is true, the Precedence was then granted to the Bishops of *Rome*, because it was the chief City, and the Empire carrying its name from *Rome*, no wonder if the Bishop of the Capital City had the Right-hand still reserved to him. But if *Paris* becomes the Metropolis of this Fifth Monarchy, then I do not see, but it may so fall out, that the Bishop of *Paris* may even dispute Precedence

cedence with his Holiness at *Rome* ; that City having now retained little more of its ancient Greatness, than the Name : and it is not like to be ever esteemed the Metropolis of the New Empire, which is now so much talked of here.

In a word, the people here that are most zealous against Heresie, have been so managed by the Jesuites and the begging Fryars in Confessions, that they almost universally look on the Pope as Infallible : and every one remembers, that about twenty year ago there was scarce any other Doctrine to be heard, but that which extolled the Popes Infallibility, not only in Points of Faith, but also in Matters of Fact : and the falling from the submission due to *St. Peter's* Chair, was called *the root and source of all heresie*, which was aggravated with all that could be invented to make the *Jansenists* the more odious, who were then looked on as ill affected to that See.

This is so fresh in all peoples remembrance, and is now so often repeated by those who bear no good will to that *Order*, that if they were not a sort of men very incapable of the Impressions which modesty and shame make on most people, they would scarce know how to lift up their heads. It is not unpleasant to hear how those that rally them, make Apologies for them from their own principles : Some tell us, that the Intention according to their Casuistical Divinity, justifies the means used to accomplish a good end ; and since the promoting the honour of the *Society*, is the end they aim at, it is said, that when the complementing the See of *Rome* may promote, that it is lawful to do it : but if the depressing that, and extolling the Regal Power becomes more necessary for the Interests of the *Society*, the good Intention will secure all still : and there is no rea-

son to doubt, but they seriously intend the good of their Order, and as little to question, that this is a good thing. So here the Doctrine of Intention serves them to very good purpose.

Their other celebrated Maxim of Probability, is no less useful to them, that in a probable Opinion a man may with a good Conscience follow either side, and that any approved Doctor's being of any side, makes that Opinion probable. From which, those that divert themselves with them, say in their defence, that approved Doctors having been of both sides in the Point of the Pope's Infallibility, a man may with a safe Conscience chuse either side, as he finds it is most convenient for him. Thus the two Doctrines of Intention and Probability joyned together, make a very substantial Apology for them; and indeed it is all I hear said to vindicate them in this particular: for to tell you truth, It is very hard to get any of them to talk of this matter: those that are meer Scholars, are still for the Pope; but they are so restrained by the Political Fathers, that they will not enter upon this discourse: and for those that play their Game at Court, you may as soon make those of *Whetstones-park* among you blush, as put them out of countenance. They do now value themselves upon their Zeal for the King, and upon his Zeal for the Catholick Religion against Heresie: and one can draw nothing from them on this subject, but high Elogies of their King, as, *That he who has given peace to all Europe, will never raise a War in the Church; and who can think, that a Prince who employs all his authority for the Extirpation of Heresie, will ever turn it against the Church?* Upon this occasion I could tell you a great deal of Mr. *Maimbourg's* Eloquence, who is so full of Raptures when he engages in this discourse, that if he thinks what he says will
will

will be reported either in the Kings hearing, or before any of his Ministers, he grows almost Ecstasical on that head.

These things are not said only by the *Canaille*, but by those of the highest condition; and even the *Queen* and *Dauphiness*, as we hear, grow apprehensive that a Rupture may happen between those two great Luminaries the Pope and the King: but I assure you, whatever the Popes presumption might be in former Ages, in comparing himself to the *Sun*, and the Temporal Princes to the *Moon*, that would now pass here for a piece of high presumption: for this Glorious Monarch would think it a strange degradation, if he, to whom so many of the Glories of the *Sun* have been ascribed by hungry Flatterers, were now to be compared to the *Moon*. It is reported, that these two Illustrious Princesses have expressed their Zeal on this occasion, and have told the Arch Bishop of *Paris*, That they were informed, he and some others of the Clergy intended to break with the Pope: they might, do what they pleased, but for their parts, they were resolved to continue to be good Roman Catholics. Others say, the King is a Good Catholic, the Most Christian King, and the Eldest Son of the Church, full of Zeal for it, but he sees by other mens eyes: and as the common style in *England* of those who are displeased with the Government, is only an arraignment of the Ministers, the King himself being treated with the respect of Civil words, even by those who study most to expose his Government; so here the Zealots take the freedom to speak very liberally of the Clergy. Indeed the Arch-Bishop of *Paris* carries the heaviest load; the former parts of his life have been such, that he is not proof against censure: and upon all such occasions, if there has been just grounds given for some ill reports, malice and envy improves these with great

great industry, even to a pitch that is scarce credible : But I love not to dwell much on so unfavoury a subject. I shall therefore say no more of him, but that as he is certainly a man of great and polite thoughts, and a very dexterous Courtier ; so there is nothing to be imagined neither for impiety nor lewdness with which he is not openly charged here , not only in discourses , but in Prints, of which the Authors are known, and some that are in the *Bastile* for them, offer to justify all that they have aspersed him with.

For the rest of the Clergy , I understand they may be reduced to three Ranks or Classes. The first and greatest , is of those who have neither Learning nor Piety, nor common Morality : Some of the greatest of them where they think they may use freedom, speak of Religion with all the Insolence of blasphemous scorn possible : they are men of quality who have taken Orders meerly for the Dignity and Wealth that they aspired to ; and do scarce observe the common decencies of their profession. In short, the King is all the God they serve, and so they are ready to advance any thing that will recommend them to his favour , or contribute to their promotion.

The second Class is of the *Cartesian* Philosophers, who approve of the Morals of the Christian Religion , but for Miracles or Mysteries, they believe very little ; and consider the several Institutions of Religion, only as they do Laws and received Customs, which are not to be rashly changed for fear of the Convulsions that may follow ; but as to their own persuasions of things, all opinions and practices in the Ritual part of Religion seem indifferent to them. So that when some gross things are objected to them, they are Ingenuous enough to confess, there is a great deal of reason in the Objection ;

jection; but after all, they will comply with their Interests, and this not so much out of an Atheistical temper, as because they consider all the Institutions of Religion, only as matters of Policy and Law.

A third Class, which as it is much the best, so it is much the least, is of those who are both Learned and Good Men, and are fully convinced of many Errors in their Church, which they think need Reformation: but what by a weakness of temper, what by some principles which they have carried too far against every thing that seems to lead to Schism, they have not Spirit enough to own the freedom of their thoughts, and say they hope that God will forgive their temporizing, since they know not how to emancipate themselves: Nor do they see a party to which they can turn. They have great prejudice against the *Hugonots*, both as to the first Constitution of their Churches, and several other things that are among them: but I am confident if they were in *England*, they would be more inclined to come over to the Church there: and indeed I hear only two exceptions to the Church of *England* among them; the one is the positive definition against the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, which they wish were left in general terms without positive definitions either one way or another; the other is, that there is not such a Spirit of Devotion and Mortification and exemplary Piety among the Church-men, as ought to be. They speak of Pluralities and Non-Residence and of the Aspiring and Pomp of Church men with horror: And it is certain that this Church could not have subsisted so long, if the gross scandals that are given by the Bishops and Abbots of the Court were not counterbalanced by the shining examples of some of their Prelates, which I must confess, is far beyond any thing I ever saw.

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You may wonder, that in this Enumeration I do not reckon up the Bigots ; but really there are so few of those among the Superiour Clergy , that they scarce make a Classis. I have not heard of one of them that believes the Pope Infallible, or is perswaded of Transubstantiation. I heard one pleasantly declaim against the folly of the *Messieurs of Charenton*, for writing such Learned Volumes in confutation of these things, *which*, said he, *none of the Catholicks believed any more than They did, so they might well spare the pains.* But he reckoned the Revenues of the Ecclesiasticks in their communion were fifty Millions a year ; *In that*, said he, *is the strength of our cause : Let Mr. Claude answer that, and then Mr. Arnauld will be a feeble party to him.*

Among the Monks and Fryars there is something very like Bigotry, though there is so little sincerity among them, that it is very hard to know when they may be believed. I confess, one thing I heard put to one of them that seemed unanswerable, and it pressed them hard in this point of the Popes Infallibility. The great Topick they use, and that is in every bodies mouth against the Hereticks, is, that men must not trust to their own opinions, but submit all to the Church : and that truth could not be preserved, if there were not a living Infallible Judge on earth ; and by this great numbers of well meaning *Hugonots* are drawn over. It has an appearance that is apt to work on an humble and well disposed mind. Now the people alwayes thought that this was to be understood of the Pope, to whom all the Bishops were to make their application for the resolution of such controversies as might arise ; and so the argument had still some effect : but now that the Councils of *Constance* are declared for, that lodged this Infallibility in a General Council, the Church has lost her
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great advantage against Hereticks : for there is no such Council in being, there has been none that pretended to that Title now almost one hundred and twenty years ; and it is not probable there shall ever be another, so there is no living Infallible Judge. The Fryar said so little in answer to this, that I clearly perceived, he looked on the belief of the Popes Infallibility as the Basis or the Center of the Church. But they are so much afraid of the Arch Bishop of *Paris* his Spies, and of the rigour of the Court of Parliament, that they speak of this matter only in dark Figures or Riddles.

One of them would say no more, but *that it was safest to stick to the root of the tree* : another said, *all things will return to their center*. The truth is, the Regulars are much concerned in the maintaining of the Popes authority, for all their exemptions depend upon it. And there is no Heresie of which they are so apprehensive, as that of losing their priviledges, and being brought under the Jurisdiction of their Bishops : and this the Bishops do all so openly pretend to, that it would be the first step that would be made after a rupture with *Rome*, to bring them in all points, within the care, and under the authority of their Diocesans. This present Assembly of the Clergy had this matter under their consideration, and by this time it is probable they would have made some progress in it, if the King had not ordered them to adjourn for sometime. So you need not doubt, but that they are very careful to possess all people in such secret methods as they dare venture on, with very tragical apprehensions of the Issue of the present contest with *Rome*. And if the severity against the Protestants were not interposed, as a signal evidence of the Kings Zeal for the faith, it is probable this meeting with the other things that raise so much dis-

content in this Kingdom, might have produced more considerable effects than have yet appeared. That this may be alwayes in the peoples eye, new Edicts come out every day, which shew, that the King is resolved to make his *Hugonot* Subjects grow weary either of their lives, or of their Religion.

Two came out the other day: the one was, that no Protestant may have the Relief of an *Evocation* (or appeal) from any Court of Justice where he finds himself aggrieved. The other is, that no Sea-man nor Tradesman shall offer to go out of the Kingdom without leave, under the pain of being sent to the Gallies. So that it is resolved, that all who profess that Religion, shall be miserable, if they stay in the Kingdom; and much more so, if they offer to fly out of it. These things give the people some comfort, who cannot be easily made to doubt of their Kings firmness to their Religion, as long as he continues true to one main branch of it, which is persecuting those of other persuasions.

But upon the whole matter, it is not probable, that all this business, on which the World has now lookt so attentively for some time, will produce any great effect. The King does not meddle in matters of Speculation himself, and there is little reason to expect much from a man of the Arch-Bishop of *Paris* his temper. So that we begin generally to think, that some Expedient will be found. The King has declared, that he is resolved, not to break with the Pope, and he has lately received a Brief from him, writ in a more obliging strain, than those formerly sent. I have not yet seen a Copy of it, so I cannot send it; only the first words are much talkt of, for it begins thus, *My Son give me thy heart*. It seems it has made some impression on the King, and that he is in hopes of bringing the whole matter to an amicable

amicable conclusion ; and therefore he takes cares that there be no new provocation given the Pope, and so he has ordered the Assembly of the Clergy to adjourn for some time, which they did on the 30th of May last, and many think they will hardly meet again except it be for forms sake.

Some begin also to talk of a Legate to be sent into *France*, for concluding this affair ; and *Azolini* is the man most talked of, who is a very fit person for such an Employment, for he has the reputation of a very prudent and devout man. Last Winter he retired from all business, and gave himself wholly to devotion and meditation : So whether he will leave his retirement to do so great a service to his Church or not, we do not yet know. It is true I found at *Rome*, last Winter his character much lessened among the *Italians*, who look upon such retirements, as either the effects of melancholy or affectation : For indeed few there understand either the Philosophy, or the piety that should work such a change in a man dignified with the Purple. But the Pope has a much better sense of such things, as appeared in this last promotion of Cardinals, which I found all at *Rome*, confess was the best that ever was made.

This is the state of the affair of the *Regale*, which has set both *France* and *Rome* in such a fermentation : But for the last Edict, touching the Popes authority over Princes, his Infallibility and the Superiority of General Councils over him, it is a harder Chapter : for as at *Rome* it is not to be imagined they can ever comply with it or endure it ; so it is not likely this Court will ever suffer it to be altered or recalled. The temper that will be perhaps found, will be this the Edict will be still left upon Record ; but there will be secret directions given not

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to execute it. The Pope has by his Brief annulled all that the Assembly has done, and so he will look upon it as condemned by his authority ; and perhaps will be satisfied with this, without proceeding to a more express condemnation. On the other hand a secret intimation from the Court not to proceed any further in the execution of it, will be perhaps easily obtained ; and so this which is the greatest difficulty may be so made up, that at present this difference will be carried no further. The Court of Parliament will think it enough that the Edict is past, and will advise the keeping it as a perpetual terror for the Court of *Rome*. So that hereafter, upon every disgust offered to this Crown by that Court, this Edict will be made use of ; and by the shaking this Rod it may be thought the Popes will be kept to their good behaviour. Somewhat of this will appear within a few days, for many of the Doctors of the *Sorbon* have complained highly of the proceedings of the Parliament, and in particular of the making a Declaration on such points, and the requiring them to Register it, without ever asking their opinion about them : They have not yet obeyed the Edict nor registred it ; yesterday they were cited to appear before the Court of Parliament, and were required for the second time to call an extraordinary Assembly within ten days, and without further delay to put the Edict in their Registers. So whether they will give obedience, or whether the thing will be let fall, or at least delay'd, is not yet certain and therefore you must have a little patience till the progress of this affair give you a better view of it, than can be done by such conjectures as are made here.

In the mean while it seems the *Jansenists* expect a storm both because the Arch-Bishop of *Paris* is their declared and enraged enemy, and looks on them as the authors of
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all those Libels that fly about *Paris* against him ; and also because in this matter they do openly espouse the Popes interests. And this is represented to the King as an effect of their Factious and restless tempers, and of the hatred they bear to his government. In this there is too much reason to justify that imputation ; for it seems as odd a thing to see them turn Champions for the Popes authority, as it is to see the *Jesuites* declare against it : And it shews but too evidently that interests and resentments govern both parties in their opinions as well as in their practices. The *Jansenists* are now mightily run down here, and beside the old Imputations of their being too favourable to the Hereticks, this is now added to it, That they are too great friends to the liberty of the people ; That they do not love the Kings Arbitrary Government, and, That they will be of any side that is against the King. It seems they expect nothing but severity ; and therefore they animate their party to prepare for it, and to bear it patiently : For the famous Mr. *Arnould*, though he has retired out of the world, so that it is not known where he lives, has of late published a continuation of his defence of the Translation of the *New Testament*, Printed at *Mons* ; which he concludes with a bold and pathetick Discourse concerning the sufferings of that party, in which he rejoices, and calls them the tryals of their Faith and patience, and a portion which the Church Militant must of necessity look for. And on this he enlarges with all the strains and figures of that Masculine Eloquence that is so natural to him. But that for which he is much blamed, is that he makes so bold with the King ; he laments that he sees with other mens eyes, and that his *Reign* must be reckoned among the *Reigns of persecution*. In short, it is such a discourse, as would make a very pertinent conclusion to the Sermon of

of a *Hugonot* Minister, on a Fast-day, if he intended to spend the rest of his days in the *Bastile*. *Jansenism* is a thing now disowned almost by every body, and yet it spreads so universally among the Learned and Good men in this Church, that upon the first favourable conjuncture, it will appear how considerable it is: Though those that now receive it, use almost as much precaution in owning it, as they would do in speaking of Treason. But though they dare not speak out in the condemned points concerning *Grace*; yet by many other things as so many *Shibboleths*, it is not hard to know them, as by their excessive commendations of St. *Austin* among the Ancients; and Cardinal *Borromeo* among the Moderns; by their lamenting over the present corruptions in the Church, chiefly in the conduct of Penitents, and by their sharpness against the *Jesuites*: By these things they are generally known, and a mark is set on them, so that none of them are at any time raised to any eminent promotion. The King considers them as men that love liberty, and so thinks them bad Subjects: And the Lewd Court-Bishops look upon them as their worst enemies, and do hate them much more than the Heretics; and consider all that is said of a Reformation, as intended on purpose to expose them; for guilt makes men very tender and jealous.

I shall end this long Letter, with a passage that has fallen out here of late, that will perhaps give you some diversion, and make you more easie to forgive the tedious length to which this Letter has run out.

A woman that lives in *Tours*, and was melancholy and full of Vapours, desired to receive the Sacrament every day, in which she said she found most wonderful consolation. The Priest has the reputation of a very worthy man, and being a judicious person, he clearly
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saw through the poor Womans weakness and superstition, and was willing enough to do what he thought an innocent fraud, that might both give the distempered person some ease, and yet not tend to a profanation of Holy things ; so instead of the Sacrament, he gave her unconsecrated wafers which she received with her ordinary devotion, and they had their ordinary effects on her : But as Frenchmen are too apt to tell their own secrets ; the Curate made himself merry with some of his friends upon this occasion , and told how he had deceived the Hypochondriacal Woman : So the thing got wind, and was lookt on as a great impiety in the Priest to suffer one to commit such Idolatry to a piece of bread , to which no doubt she offered the same adoration, that was due, if it had been Consecrated ; so the Curate was cited before the Arch-Bishop of *Tours*, where he had met with a severe censure, if the esteem he is justly in, had not preserved him : He excused himself that he had not failed out of Malice, but out of ignorance, and that he thought it best to comply with the weakness of a Woman, abused by melancholy, and since it would have encreased her distemper to have denied her the Sacrament, and yet her condition was not such that it was fit for her to receive every day : He thought he took that course in which there was the least danger ; but he was condemned to six months Imprisonment, yet it is thought the sentence will be mitigated, and upon his submitting to some severe penances, he will be set at liberty ere long.

I leave it to you, and your most Learned Friend when you meet, to consider, if this is acknowledged to be Idolatry in the melancholy Woman, to worship a piece of bread, which she verily believed was the body of Christ ; then whether it will not certainly follow
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that the whole Church of *Rome* is guilty of Idolatry, if Christ is not Corporally present in the Host, and that their adoring him as present, will not excuse them from Idolatry, if he is not really present. But I must not enter upon points of Controversie with you, much less will I increase the trouble I have given you, by offering you a great many Apologies for what I have written; I know your Curiosity in this affair of the *Regale* makes you more than ordinary concern'd to know the true State of it; and I was willing to enlarge much more copiously, than was perhaps necessary, for one that knows so much of the Transactions of this Kingdom: But as I demonstrate to you my readiness to obey your commands, so I am not unwilling so far to expose my self to you, as to let you see the use I make of my Travels, which will at least give you occasion to correct what you find amiss; and I shall be a great gainer by the exchange, if instead of a long scribble of News I have a return from you, that shall contain such reflections of yours, as may be able to direct me to observe matters more exactly, and to judge more maturely of them. I shall afflict you no more, but shall only add that I am, with great sincerity,

SIR,

Paris the 6th
June S. N.

Your most humble and

most obliged Servant.

THE

The Popes Brief to the Assembly of the Clergy of *France*, annulling all that they have done.

Venerabilibus Fratribus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, &c.

Paterna Charitati quâ Carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ludovicum Regem Christianissimum, Ecclesias vestras, vosipsos & universum istud regnum amplectimur, permolestum accidit ac planè acerbum cognoscere ex vestris literis tertio Februarii ad nos datis, Episcopos plerumque Galliae qui Corona olim & gaudium erant amplissima sedis, ità se erga illam in praesens gerere ut cogamur multis cum lachrymis usurpare propheticum illud, Filii matris meae pugnaverunt adversus me; quanquam adversus vosipsos potius pugnat, cum nobis in ea causâ resistitis, in qua vestrarum Ecclesiarum salus ac felicitas agitur, & in qua pro juribus ac dignitate Episcopali in isto regno tuendis, ab aliquibus ordinis vestri piis ac fidelibus viris appellati absque morâ insurreximus, & jampridem in gradu stamus nullas privatas nostras rationes secuti, ut debita omnibus sollicitudini, ac intimo amorì erga vos nostro satisfaciamus.

Nihil sanè letum ac vestris nominibus dignum eas literas continere, in ipso earum limine intelleximus; nam praeter ea quae de normâ in Conciliis convocandis, peragendisque servata ferebantur, animadvertimus eas ordiri à metu vestro, quo suavisore nunquam Sacerdotes Dei esse solent

in ardua & excelsa pro Religione & Ecclesia sua libertate vel aggrediundo fortes, vel perficiendo constantes.

Quem quidem metum falsò judicavistis posse vos in sinum nostrum effundere, in sinu enim nostro hospitari perpetuò debet Caritas Christi, quæ foras mittit & longè arcet timorem, quæ caritate erga vos regnûmque Gallie paternum cor nostrum flagrare multis jam ac magnis experimentis cognosci potuit, quæ hîc referre non est necesse; si quid est autem in quo bene merita de vobis Caritas nostra sit, esse imprimis putamus illud ipsum Regalia negotium, ex quo, si serîo res perpendatur, omnis vestri ordinis dignitas atque auctoritas pendet. Timuistis igitur ubi non erat timor, id unum timendum vobis erat nè apud Deum hominèsque jure redargui possitis, loco atque honori vestro & pastoralis officii debito defuisse. Memoria vobis repetenda erant, quæ antiqui illi Sanctissimi Prasules, quos plurimi postea qualibet ætate sunt imitati, Episcopalis constantia & fortitudinis exempla in hujusmodi casibus in vestram eruditionem ediderunt. Intuenda imagines prædecessorum vestrorum, non solum quæ Patrum, sed quæ nostra quoque memoria floruerunt. Ivonis Carnotensis dicta notatis, facta etiam cùm res posceret, imitari debuistis. Nostis qui is fuerit, quaque passus sit in turbulenta illa & periculosa contentione inter Urbanum Pontificem & Philipum Regem, muneris sui arbitratus, contra regiam indignationem stare, bonis spoliari, carceres & exilia perferre. Deserentibus aliis meliorem causam, officii vestri erat Sedis Apostolica auctoritati studia vestra adjungere, & pastoralis pectore ac humilitate Sacerdotali causam Ecclesiarum vestrarum apud Regem agere, ejusque conscientiam de tota re instruere, etiam cum periculo regium in vos animum irritandi, ut possetis in posterum sine rubore ex quotidiana Psalmodia Deum alloquentes, Davidica verba proferre, Loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu Regum & non confundebar; quanto magis id vobis faciendum.

dum fuit jam perspecta atque explorata optimi principis iustitia & pietate, quem singulari benignitate Episcopos audire & Episcopalem potestatem intemeratam velle vos ipsi scribitis, & nos magna cum voluptate legimus in literis vestris.

Non dubitamus pro causa tam iusta defensione, neque futura vobis qua loqueremini, neque Regi cor docile, quo vestris annueret postulatis; nunc cum muneris vestri & regia aequitatis quodammodo obliti in tanti momenti negotio silentium tenueritis, non videmus quo probabili fundamento significetis vos ad ita agendum adductos. Quod in controversia victi sitis, quod causa cecideritis, quomodo cecidit qui non stetit? Quomodo victus est qui non pugnavit? Quis vestrum tam gravem, tam iustam, tam sacrosanctam causam apud Regem oravit, cum tamen predecessores vestri in simili periculo constitutam, non semel apud superiores Gallie Reges, immo apud hunc ipsum liberâ voce defenderint, victorêsq; à regio conspectu decesserint, relatis etiam ab aequissimo Rege præmiis Pastoralis officii strenuè impleri. Quis vestrum in arenam descendit ut opponeret murum pro domo Israel? Quis ausus est invidia se offerre? Quis vel vocem unam emisit memor pristina libertatis; Clamarunt interim, sicuti scribitis, & quidem in mala causa pro regio jure clamârunt regii administri cum vos in optima pro Christi & Ecclesia honore sileretis, neque illa solidiora quod reddaturi nobis rationem, seu verius excusationem allaturi rerum in ejusmodi comitiis per vos actarum exaggeretis periculum nè Sacerdotium & imperium collidantur, & mala quæ exinde in Ecclesiam & rempublicam consequi possent, proinde existimasse vos ad officium vestrum pertinere inire rationem tollendi è medio gliscentis dissidii, nullam verò commodiorem apparuisse quam remedia à patribus Ecclesia indicata, utili condescensione canonis temperandi pro temporum necessitate, ubi neque fidei veritas neque

neque morum honestas periclitentur; Deberi ab ordine vestro, Deberi à Gallicana, imo ab universa Ecclesia, plurimum Regi tam præclarè de Catholica Religione merito, & indies magis mereri cupienti; propterea vos juri vestro dedecentes illud in Regem contulisse. Omittimus hîc commemorare quæ significatis de appellato à vobis Seculari Magistratu à quo victi discesseritis, cupimus enim ejus facti memoriam aboleri, & volumus ea vos verba ex literis vestris expungere, nè in actis Cleri Gallicani resideant ad dedecus nominis vestri sempiternum. Quæ de Innocentio 3. Benedicto 12. & Bonifacio 8. in vestram defensionem adducitis, Non defuerunt qui doctis lucubrationibus ostenderint quàm frivola & extranea sint huic causæ, & magis notum est quàm ut opus sit commemorari quo Zelo, quâ constantiâ eximii illi Pontifices Ecclesiæ libertatem defenderunt adversus seculares potestates, tantum abest ut eorum exempla possint errori vestro suffragari: Caterum ultro admittimus & laudamus consilium relaxandi Canonum Disciplinam pro temporum necessitate, ubi fieri id possit sine fidei & morum dispendio. Immo addimus cum Augustino, Toleranda aliquando pro bono unitatis quæ odio hadenda sint pro ratione æquitatis, neque eradicanda Zizania ubi periculum sit nè simul etiam triticum eradicetur: sed ita tantum accipi oportet ut in aliquo tantum peculiari casu, & ad tempus, & ubi necessitas urget, licitum sit. Factum est ab Ecclesiâ cum Arianos & Donatistas ejurato errore, Ecclesiis suis restituit, ut populos qui secuti eos fuerunt in officio contineret. Aliud est ubi Disciplina Ecclesiæ per universum amplissimi regni ambitum sine temporis termino & cum manifesto periculo nè exemplum latius manet, labefactatur, immo evertitur ipsius disciplinæ & Hierarchiæ Ecclesiastica fundamentum, sicuti evenire necesse est, si quæ à Rege Christianissimo in negotio Regalia nuper acta sint, una etiam consentientibus vobis contra Sacro-

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rum Canonum, & præsertim Generalis Concilii Lugdunensis auctoritatem, contra notam jam pridem vobis in ea re mentem nostram, & contra ipsam jurisjurandi Religionem, qua vos Deo, Romana, vestrisque Ecclesiis obligastis, cum Episcopali charactere imbuti eramini, hæc executioni mandari & malum invalescere diutius differendo permittimus, ac non nos pro datâ divinitus humilitati nostra suprema in universam Ecclesiam potestate prædecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inhaerentes improbaremus : Cum præsertim per abusum Regaliæ non solum everti disciplinam Galliæ res ipsa doceat, sed etiam fidei ipsius integritatem in discrimen vocari facile intelligatis ex ipsis regionum decretorum verbis quæ jus conferendi beneficia Regi vendicant, non tanquam profluens ex aliqua Ecclesiæ concessione, sed tanquam ingentium & coarctum regie corona. Illam vero partem literarum vestrarum non sine animi horrore legere potuimus, in quâ dicitis vos juri vestro decedentes illud in Regem contulisse quasi Ecclesiarum quæ cura vestra creditæ fuere, essetis arbitri, non custodes, & quasi Ecclesiæ ipse & spiritualia ipsarum jura possent sub potestatis secularis jugum mitti ab Episcopis qui se pro illarum libertate in servitutem dare deberent. Vos sanè ipsi hanc veritatem agnovistis & confessi estis, dum alibi pronuntiastis jus Regaliæ servitutem quandam esse quæ in eo præsertim quod spectat Beneficiorum Collationem imponi non potest, nisi Ecclesiâ cedente, vel saltem consentiente. Quo jure ergo vos illud in Regem contulistis? Cùmque sacri Canones distrabi vetant jura Ecclesiarum, quomodo ea vos distrabere in animam induxistis quasi eorundem Canonum auctoritati liceat vobis derogare? Revocate in memoriam quæ Inclitus ille Clarevallensis Abbas non Gallicana modo sed etiam Ecclesiæ universalis lumen à vobis merito nuncupatus Eugenium Pontificem officii sui admonens præclare scripta reliquit, meminisse

minisse se, esse cui claves tradita, cui oves tradita sunt, esse quidem & alios cæli Janitores & gregum pastores; sed cum habeant illi assignatos greges singuli singulos, ipsi universos creditos, uni unum, nec modo ovium sed & pastorum Eugenium esse pastorem. Idcirco juxta Canonum Statuta alios Episcopos vocatos fuisse in partem sollicitudinis, ipsum in plenitudinem potestatis. Quantum vos admoneri par est, de obedientiâ & obsequio quod debetis huic sanctæ sedi, cui nos, Deo authore, quanquam immeriti, præsidemus; tantum pastoralis nostra sollicitudo excitat nos ad inchoandam tandem aliquando in hoc negotio, quàm nimia fortasse longanimitate nostrâ dum penitentia locum damus, hæcenus distulit Apostolici Muneris executionem. Quamobrem per præsentem literas, tradita nobis ab omnipotente Deo auctoritate, Improbamus, Rescindimus, & Cassamus quæ in istis vestris comitiis acta sunt in negotio Regalia, cum omnibus inde secutis, & quæ in posterum attentari continget, eaque perpetuè irrita & inania declaramus: Quamvis cum sint ipsa per se & manifestè nulla, cassatione aut declaratione hujusmodi non egerent. Speramus tamen vos quoque ipsos re melius considerata celeri retractatione consulturos conscientia vestra & Cleri Gallicani Existimationi, ex quo Clero sicuti huc usque non defuere, ita in futurum non defuturos confidimus, qui boni Pastoris exemplo libenter animam suam parati sint pro ovibus suis & pro testamento Patrum suorum dare. Nos quidem pro officii nostri debito parati sumus, Dei adjutrice gratiâ, sacrificare sacrificium justitiæ, Ecclesias Dei, jura, libertatem, & hujus sanctæ sedis auctoritatem dignitatēque defendere; nihil de nobis, sed omnia de Deo præsumenda sunt qui nos confortat, & operatur in nobis, & qui jussit Petrum super aquis ad se venire: Præterit enim figura hujus mundi, & dies domini appropinquat. Sic ergo agamus, venerabiles fratres

& dilecti filii, ut cum summus paterfamilias, & cum princeps pastorum rationem ponere voluerit cum servis suis; sanguinem pessundata & lacerata Ecclesia quam suo acquisivit, de suis ipsorum manibus non requirat. Vobis iterum omnibus Apostolicam benedictionem, cui caelestem accedere optamus, intimo amoris affectu impertimur.

Dat. Romæ 11. Aprilis 1682.

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The Translation of the former Brief,
directed to his Venerable Brethren
the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, &c.
assembled at *Paris*, bearing date the
Eleventh of *April* 1682.

IT was very uneasy and bitter to us, by reason of the
Fatherly affection which We bear to our dearest Son
in Christ *Lewis* the *most Christian King*, and to your
Churches and Persons, and that whole Kingdom, To per-
ceive by your Letters, directed to us on the third of *Febru-*
ary, that a great many of the Bishops of *France* (who were
anciently a Crown and rejoycing to this most Eminent
See) should now behave themselves so toward it, that
We are forced with many Tears to make use of these
words of the Prophet, *My Mothers Children have sought*
against me: Though in truth you rather fight against
your selves, when you set your selves in opposition to
us, in a Cause, in which the welfare and freedom of your
Churches is so much concerned; and for which some pi-
ous and resolute men of your Order having appealed
to us, We did without delay stand up for defence of the
Episcopal Rights and Dignity in that Kingdom, which
now for a great while We have maintained, having in
that sought no private ends of our own; being set on to it
merely by that care that We owe to all the Churches, and
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the love that We bear to you, which is so deeply rooted in our hearts.

We perceived from the very beginning of your Letter, that there was nothing in it that could be either welcome to us, or worthy of that name you bear in the world: For not to insist on what you said of the Rule that was observed in the calling and managing of Councils, We observed that your Letter began from your fears, and that is a motive, by which Gods Priests are never animated to undertake any difficult or weighty cause, that concerns either Religion, or the Liberty of the Church, with that Courage that becomes them at first, or to persevere in it with that constancy, which they ought to hold to the last.

And you were much mistaken when you thought you might pour out your fears into Our breast; for the Love of Christ ought always to dwell in Our breast, *which casts out fear*, and keeps it at a great distance: We have already demonstrated in many and signal instances, that Fatherly Love that is kindled in Our hearts towards you and the Kingdom of *France*, which We need not here reckon up. And if there is any thing in which our affection has deserved well at your hands, We think it has chiefly appeared in this business of the *Regale*, upon which if the matter is well considered, it will appear that the whole Dignity and authority of your Order doth depend. You were therefore *in fear where no fear was*: Whereas this only was that of which you ought to have been afraid, lest you might have been justly accused before God and men, for having been wanting to your Station and Honour, and the duty of your Pastoral charge. And you ought to have remembered the examples of Episcopal Constancy and Courage: which in the like cases, the ancient and most holy Bishops

have set before you, for your instruction; and which have been imitated by many Bishops in every age, from their days. You ought also to have reflected on your own Predecessors, not only those who flourished in the times of our forefathers, but in Our own days. You cite the words of *Ivon of Chartres*, but you ought also to follow his actions, when there is occasion for it: You know what he both did and suffered in those troublesome & dangerous contests, that were between Pope *Urban* and King *Philip*. He thought it became his Function, to endure the Kings displeasure, to bear the spoiling of his goods, and to suffer both Imprisonment and Banishment.

It became your Function, even when others were forsaking the better cause, to have joyned your endeavours to the Authority of the Apostolick See, and to have pleaded the cause of your Churches before the King; joyning the resolution that became Pastors, with the humility of Priests; and to have informed his Conscience of the whole matter, even though you had apprehended the danger of drawing his Displeasure upon you: That so for the time to come, you might without blushing, use the words of *David*, when you address your selves to God in the daily Psalmody, *I did speak of thy Testimonies before Kings, and was not confounded*: But how much more ought you to have done this, when you had so well known, and so often tryed the justice and piety of your excellent Prince, of whom you your selves write, that he hears the Bishops with a singular gentleness, and that he is resolved to maintain the Episcopal Authority without suffering it to be entrenched upon; which We read in your Letter with great joy.

We do not doubt, that in the defence of so just a cause you could either want Arguments fit to be used; or the King a heart tractable, and inclined to grant your desires.

desires. But now since you seem to have forgot both your own duty, and the Kings justice, and that you have been silent in a matter of so great consequence, we do not see upon what probable ground you can found that which you represent to us, that you have been induced to do what you have done, because you have been overcome in this Dispute, and have lost your cause. But how could he lose it that never stood to it? And how could he be overcome that never struggled? Who of you all did plead this weighty, this just, and this most Sacred Cause, before the King? Whereas your Predecessors, even in the like danger, did defend it oftner than once with all freedom, both before the former Kings of *France*, and even before this King himself: And having carried their cause, they were dismiss'd by their most just King, with rewards for having so manfully performed the duty of the Pastoral charge. But who of you have engaged in this contest, that he might raise a *Wall for the house of Israel*? Who has had the boldness to expose himself to envy? Who has uttered so much as one word, that savoured of the freedom of former times? The Kings Officers have indeed cryed aloud as you write, they have cryed aloud in an ill cause, for the Rights of the Crown; whereas you in the best cause, that was both for the Honour of Christ and the Church, have been silent: Nor is there any more weight in what you say, when you render us an account, or indeed rather offer us an excuse, for the things that have been done by you in this Assembly. You aggravate the danger of a breach between the Priesthood and the Civil Power, and the ill effects that may follow from thence, both in Church and State: *And infer that therefore you thought it became you to find out a mean for removing the difference that was encreasing, and that no mean appeared more convenient than those*
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remedies proposed by the Fathers of the Church for tempering the Canons by a prudent condescension according to the necessity of the times, in such things as might no way endanger either the truth of Religion, or the Rules of Morality: and that you thought your Order and the whole Gallicane, and indeed the Universal Church owed so much to a King that had merited so eminently of the Catholick Religion, and who was daily desiring to merit further of it, and that therefore you passed from your Rights, and resigned them to the King.

We forbear to mention what you represent to us of the Appeal you made to the Secular Magistrate, by whom this Cause was judged against you; for We with the remembrance of that might be buried in oblivion, and would gladly have you dash out those words out of your Letters, so that they might not remain upon the Records of the Gallicane Church to your eternal reproach.

As for what you bring for your own defence, concerning *Innocent the Third, Benedict the Twelfth and Boniface the Eighth*, there have not been wanting some who have by Learned Treatises demonstrated how frivolous and foreign they are to this matter: and it is so notoriously known, that it is needless to mention it, with what zeal and constancy those great Popes defended the liberty of the Church against the Secular Powers: So little reason have you to maintain your error by those precedents.

We do readily allow of and commend the Resolution of relaxing the Discipline of the Canons according to the necessity of the times, where that may be done without any prejudice either to Religion or a good life: and we add with *St. Austin*, *That things are to be sometimes endured for the good of unity, which ought to be abhorred,*

horred, if considered according to equity: Nor are the tares to be rooted out, if there is danger of plucking up the wheat likewise with them. But all this is so to be understood that it may be done only in some particular case, and for a time, and upon an urgent necessity as was done by the Church when she restored the *Arrians* and *Donatists* to their Churches, upon their abjuring their errors, that so the people that had followed them might be the more easily governed. But the case is very different from this, when the Discipline of the Church is weakened, and the foundation of the whole Ecclesiastical Discipline and Hierarchy is indeed overthrown through the whole extent of so great a Kingdom without any limitation of time, and with the manifest danger of establishing a precedent which may spread much further. These consequences must certainly follow, if We should suffer the things to be put in execution, which have been lately done by *The Most Christian King*, even with your consent, in the affair of the *Regale* (against the Authority of the holy Canons, and chiefly against the General Council of *Lions*, and against Our mind that has been long ago signified to you in that affair, and contrary to that Sacred Tie of your Oaths by which when you received the Episcopal character, you bound yourselves to God, to the *Roman Church*, and to your own particular Churches) and if we by delaying longer, should suffer this evil to become more inveterate; and should not, in imitation of the examples of our Predecessors, and according to that Supreme Authority over the whole Church which is given by God to Our *Meanness*, condemn it: and that the rather, that by the abuse of the *Regale* the Discipline of the Church is not only overthrown, as is notoriously evident, but even the purity of the faith is brought in danger: which you may

may easily gather from the very words of the Kings Edicts, by which the Right of conferring Benefices is ascribed to the King, not as flowing from any Concession of the Church ; but as a Right innate and coeval to the Crown : Nor could we read that part of your Letter without *horror*, in which you say, you have departed from your Rights, and have transferred them on the King ; as if you were the Masters, and not the Guardians of these Churches that are trusted to your care ; and as if the Churches themselves and the Spiritual Rights belonging to them could be brought under the yoke of the Secular Power, by the Bishops, who indeed rather ought to become slaves themselves for setting them at liberty. You your selves did acknowledge and confess this truth, when upon another occasion you declared, that the Right of the *Regale*, especially in that branch of it that belongs to the Collation of Benefices, was a servitude that could not be brought upon the Church, but by her concession, at least by her consent. By what right then have you conferred that on the King ? and since the holy Canons forbid the alienating the Rights of the Church, how could it enter into your minds to alienate these Rights ? as if you could derogate from the authority of the Canons.

Call to mind what that renowned Abbot of *Clarevall* writ excellently to this purpose, whom you justly call the Light not only of the *Gallican*, but of the Universal Church, when he was putting Pope *Eugenius* in mind of his duty, *He bids him remember that the Keys of the Church were delivered to him, but not the Sheep themselves : There were others that kept the Gates of Heaven, and were the Pastors of the Flock ; but whereas every one of these have their several Flocks assigned them, to him were the whole trusted : one Flock under one Shepherd : and that*
Eugenius

Eugenius was not only the Shepherd of the Sheep, but of the Shepherds themselves: and therefore according to the appointment of the Canons the other Bishops were called to a portion of the care, but he to the fulness of the power.

But as it is expedient to give you warning of the obedience and submission that you owe this holy See, which We, though unworthy, do now by the Divine appointment govern; so our Pastoral care doth stir us up, now at last, to set about the discharge of our Apostolical Office, which we have hitherto delayed, perhaps by an excessive long suffering, being willing to give time to repentance.

Therefore We through the authority of Almighty God committed to us, do by these present Letters *Condemn, Rescind and Annul* what has been done in this your Assembly in the affair of the *Regale*; together with every thing that has followed thereupon, or that may happen to be attempted for the future; and We declare them to be for ever Null and Void: though these things being of themselves manifestly Null, it was not necessary to interpose any Declaration for annulling them: Yet We hope that you yourselves having considered better of this matter, will by a speedy retraction consult the good of your own consciences, and the honour of the *Gallicane* Clergy: of which Clergy, as hitherto some have not been wanting, so we hope that for the time to come, others will not be wanting, who following the example of the good Shepherd, shall be ready to lay down their lives willingly for their Sheep, and for maintaining the Inheritance conveyed down to them from their Fathers.

As for our part, We are ready according to the duty of our Function, and by the assistance of Divine Grace, to offer up the Sacrifice of Righteousness, and to main-

tain the Rights and Liberties of the Church of God, and the authority and Dignity of this holy See : not trusting in Our selves, but depending for all things on God, who comforts and strengthens Us , and who commanded *Peter* to come unto him, walking on the waters : *for the fashion of this world passeth away, and the day of the Lord approacheth.* Let Us therefore, Venerable Brethren and beloved Children, so behave Our Selves that when the great Master of the Family, and the Prince of Pastors shall make his accounts with his Servants, he may not require at their hands the blood of a broken and torn Church, which he redeemed with his own blood. We do again give you all Our Apostolical Blessing with much sincere and cordial affection, and pray that the Divine blessing may be added to it.

Given at Rome, April 11. 1682.

The

The Protestation made by the Assembly of the Clergy against the Popes proceedings before the former Brief was read by them.

Ecclēsia Gallicana suis se regit legibus, propriasque consuetudines inviolate custodit, quibus Gallicani Pontifices, Majoresque nostri, nulla definitione, nullaque auctoritate derogatum esse voluerunt, & quas ipsi summi Pontifices agnoscere & laudare dignati sunt. Prope tamen est ut perfringantur leges justa quas prisca Galliarum religio reverendāque vetustas, inconcussas fecerunt. Ecce etenim, quod sine acerbissimo animi sensu dici non potest, hisce annis superioribus, per Provincias Galliarum & Civitates literæ Apostolicæ seminatae sunt, quibus antiqua Gallicanae Ecclesiae jura & patria Instituta aperte violantur. Ex his scilicet intelligimus de regni Ecclesiarumque nostrarum negotiis contra mores nostros usurpatam esse cognitionem. Inauditis partibus pronunciata judicia, jurisdictionem Episcoporum conculcatam, denique contra Canonem Ecclesiasticum & contra consuetudines Illustrissima Gallicanae Ecclesiae, Metropolitanae gladium excommunicationis intentatum esse. Dolet Clerus Gallicanus, queriturque ex his & aliis quæ exinde facta sunt, oppressas libertates Ecclesiarum; perturbatam Ecclesiae formam, illatum dedecus Pontificali ordini, terminosque perruptos quos patres nostri constituerant: Et nè officium & causam suam deferere aut prævaricari suæ dignitati, Ecclesiarumque suarum commodis videatur, publica contestatione obloqui, & inertis silentii à se movere culpam, decrevit: Ut exemplo patrum suorum in posterum provissum sit, nè quid nocere possit juribus & libertatibus Ecclesiae Gallicanae; eoque magis inclinat in eam sententi-

am quod Summus Pontifex Innocentius XI. morum antiquorum & Canonica Disciplina severus assertor non patietur fieri injuriam decretis suorum praedecessorum, est Canonibus promulgatis qui rescindebant quicquid subreptum erat contra privata provinciarum jura. Nolebant siquidem Ecclesiarum privilegia, quae semper conservanda sunt, confundi. Propterea Clerus idem Gallicanus professus antea omnem reverentiam, obedientiamque quam semper exhibuit, perpetuòque exhibiturus est, Cathedra Petri, in qua potentiores agnoscit principatum, coram Clarissimo Domino Joanne Baptista Lauro, Protonotario Apostolico, & Nunciaturae Apostolica Galliarum auditore, protestari constituit, sicut de facto protestatur per praesentes, nè literis Pontificiis datis ad Episcopum Apamiensem die secundo Octobris 1680. ad Ecclesiam Apamiensem Capitulum eodem die Octobris, ad Episcopum Tholozanum die primo Januarii 1681. ad Moniales seu Canonissas Regulares Congregationis beatae Mariae Virginis Monasterii de Charonne die septimo Augusti. & 15. Octob. 1680. vel aliis exinde & illarum virtute actis & secutis quibuscunque; damnum aliquod seu praedictum juribus Ecclesiae Gallicanae fieri possit, neve quis in aliis locis & temporibus hoc in exemplum & in auctoritatem trahat, ut antiquos Ecclesiae Canones, Aritas regni consuetudines, receptosque mores Ecclesiae Gallicanae oppugnare audeat, aut propter ea quidquam sibi licere existimet; immò vero nemo nesciat hoc nihil obstare, quo minus Canones, Consuetudines, jura & libertates ejusdem Ecclesiae pristinam vim & integram auctoritatem retineant & custodiant. Hoc, Clerus Gallicanus sibi suisque privilegiis tantum consultiusque voluit, & omnibus notum esse, nè quis ignorantiae causam praetextet.

Datum in Comitibus Generalibus Cleri Gallicani Lutetiae habitis, May 6. 1682.

The

The Translation of the former Protestation.

THe *Gallicane* Church governs her self by her own Laws, and does inviolably observe her own Customs, from which the Bishops of *France* and our Ancestors have thought that no Decision, and no Authority could derogate, and the Popes themselves have thought fit both to acknowledge and to commend them : But now those just Laws, which the ancient piety of *France*, and Venerable Antiquity have esteemed such as that they were never to be shaken, are almost enervated. For we have seen (which cannot be mentioned without a most bitter and sensible affliction to us) that of late years, Letters from the Apostolick See, have been disseminated through the Provinces and Cities of *France*, in which the ancient Rights of the *Gallicane* Church and the appointments of our Forefathers are manifestly violated. By these We understand that an inspection into the affairs of this Kingdom and of our Churches, has been assumed against Our Customs ; That judgements have been given without hearing the parties ; That the Episcopal jurisdiction has been trodden under foot, and that the sentence of Excommunication has been threatned against a Metropolitan, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Canons, and the Customs of the most Illustrious *Gallicane* Church.

The *Gallicane* Clergy is grieved and complains, that by these things, and by what has been since done pursuant to them, the Liberties of their Churches have been oppressed, and the order of the Church has been disturbed ; That the Episcopal Office has been disgraced , and the Land-Marks have been broke through, which Our Fathers had fixed : And therefore that they may avoid the imputation of having abandoned their Duty and Station , or betrayed their own Dignity and the interests of their Churches, they have resolved to oppose these things by a publick Protestation, and so to free themselves from the guilt of a neglectful silence, that so according to the examples set them by their Forefathers, they may take care, that these things may not for the future prejudice the Rights and Liberties of the *Gallicane* Church. To this they are the more inclined because the present

present Pope *Innocent* the Eleventh (so eminent for Excellent Vertues and a strict observance of the Discipline established by the Canons) will not suffer any thing to be done that shall be injurious to the Decrees of his Predecessors, and the Canons already promulgated; by which every thing is rescinded that hath been surreptitiously obtained, contrary to the proper Rights of Provinces; nor would they suffer the priviledges of Churches to be confounded, which ought to be constantly preserved.

* Or Dignity.

Therefore the said *Gallicane* Clergy having first made profession of all Reverence and obedience, which she ever has expressed and ever will express to the Chair of *St. Peter*, in which she acknowledges a more Powerful * *Principality*, has resolved to Protest before the most renowned *John Baptist Lauri*, Protonotary Apostolick, and Auditor of the Apostolick Nunciature in *France*, as in fact she does by these presents protest that the Popes Letters to the Bishop of *Pamiers*, bearing date the 2 of *October* 1680. and to the Chapter of *Pamiers* of the same date, and to the Bishop of *Tholouse*, bearing date the 1 of *January* 1681. and the Letters to the *Nuns*, or Regular Canonesses of the Blessed Virgin of the Nunnery of *Charron*, bearing date the 7 of *August* and the 15. of *October* 1680. or any other that have followed since that time, or any thing that has been acted or done by vertue of those, shall be no wayes hurtful or prejudicial to the Rights of the *Gallicane* Church, and shall turn to no Precedent or Warrant for doing the like in any other time or place; and that none may thereupon presume to oppose the ancient Canons of the Church, or the established Customs of this Kingdom, or the received practices of the *Gallicane* Church, or think that he may lawfully do any thing, pursuant thereunto; and let none be ignorant, that these things notwithstanding the Canons, Customs, Rights, and Liberties of the said Church, shall still remain and preserve their ancient Force and Authority entire: Hereby the *Gallicane* Clergy have thought fit to secure and preserve themselves and their priviledges, and this this they will have known to all persons, that so none may pretend ignorance.

Past in the Assembly General of the Clergy of France, the Sixth of May 1682.

A Letter from Paris of the 20th of June New-ſtile,
containing a further account of the Conteſts
between the Pope and the French King.

BY my laſt, which I ſent by one that went from hence a fortnight ago, I gave you a large account of our Affairs here, which I hope has come to your hands before this time; but the great change of the preſent proſpect We have of that matter, from that which appeared when I wrote laſt, needs not ſurprize you: For the ſecrets of State are not known here, ſo quick as with you, and they lie in ſo few hands, and thoſe are ſo true to the Kings ſervice, that the greateſt perſons here can penetrate no further into the Councils than as they are pleaſed to lay them open. You will not therefore wonder, if I now tell you that inſtead of the adjusting of that Affair, of which all people here ſeemed ſo aſſured that it was univerſally ſpoken of as a thing done, yet it appears now to be more deſperate than ever. We now know the true cauſe of the ſudden Adjourning the Aſſembly of the Clergy, and that it flowed not from any diſpoſition to compoſe this difference, but that it was done to prevent a ſtroke, that might have put it paſt reconciling: The true reaſon was this, The Old reſolute Pope ſent a Courier to France to the Internuntio with a Bull of Excommunication, which he required him to carry into the Aſſembly, and there to fulminate in his Name againſt all the Aſſembly. This came to the knowledge of Cardinal d' Eſtree, who, to prevent the ill effects of ſo hardy a Step, ſent preſently a Courier with a ſtrict charge to uſe all poſſible haſt to get before the Popes Courier, that ſo the King might have timely notice of what the other was bringing; and this is now known to be the true reaſon of that ſudden Adjournment. So by this you ſee this matter is further from being compoſed than ever. As for the Affair of the Sorbonne, of which I gave you an account in my laſt, it has had another effect than was expected. On Monday laſt the Faculty met, where there was great oppoſition made to the Reſtring the Kings Edict, inſomuch that they could not bring the Affair to any Iſſue at that time; but Adjourned the debate till next day, yet it was viſible enough that thoſe for the Negative were the ſtronger party; ſo at night the

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Arch-Bishop of Paris, the Marquis of Segnelay, the first President, and the Attorney General met, and it seems resolved on that which was put in execution next day; for when the Sorbonne was again assembled and engaged in the debate, about eleven a Clock an Officer was sent from the Court of Parliament requiring them to suspend their debates, and to send them 12 of their Number, who were named in the Order, together with their Clerk and their Register; the persons were not left to their choice, lest they might have sent some that might have spoken too freely to the Parliament. When the persons thus called for, appeared, the first President made a most terrible harangue to them; he accused the Sorbonne of ingratitude and presumption, that they who were but a Faculty, that had no Authority, and had their meeting only by the Kings Connivence, should have arrogated an Authority to themselves, to have examined the matter of an Edict that was made by the Assembly of the whole Clergy of France, and was confirmed by the King, and verified by the Parliament. He therefore commanded their Clerk to insert it in their Register, and charged them not to Assemble any more, but as they should be required and authorised to it by orders from the Court: And told them that by the first of July, the Kings pleasure should be signified to them. Thus you see how firm the Sorbonne is in this matter, for the proceedings of the Court of Parliament are an open confession that the Majority of the Sorbonne would have refused to receive the Edict. I add no more but that I am intirely yours.

Paris, June 20. S. N. 1682.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

PAG. 8. l. 33. after *Constance*, r. and *Basil*: p. 18. l. 22. r. *Noſtis quæ ſecurit*: p. 25. l. 8. for from r. with.

There are lately Published

THe *Abridgement of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England.*

The History of the Rights of Princes in the disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church-Lands.

Both written by Gilbert Burnet D.D. And Printed for Richard Chiswell.

AN
ANSWER
TO THE
Animadversions
ON THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Rights of Princes, &c.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Richard Chiswell, at the *Rose and Crown*
in *St. Paul's Church-yard.* M DC LXXXII.



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A N I M A D V E R S I O N S
O N T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Rights of Princes, &c.

WHEN I first met with the Animadversions on my Book of the *Regale*, I was not a little surprized to find so many things laid to my charge, of which I never so much as suspected my self guilty: and thought it very strange if I had so unhappily expressed my self in that Book, that I had given any just occasion to such severe accusations. I knew well my intentions were innocent and sincere, and I thought my stile was not so dark or perplexed as to lead a Reader into such mistakes concerning my meaning. But what darkness soever might be in my expressions, I was very well assured I had none of those ill intentions, with which these sheets charged me. What faults soever I may be guilty of, I am sure want of Integrity or Ingenuity in my Writings is none of them, and for false Inferences, I may through

through weakness of Judgement perhaps draw them: But I am sure I neither affirm nor suggest any thing falsely; and do think a lie in a Book is so much a greater sin than in discourse, as it may last longer, and deceive more. And upon this point, as I venture my Soul in relation to another World, so I cheerfully venture my reputation, which is the valuablest thing I have in this, if it can be made appear that I have shewed either in that *Criminal-book*, or in any other I ever writ, the least dissingenuity, want of integrity, or fallshood.

Finding my self so severely accused from the Press, in a way so publick, as that of two sheets sold about the streets, and with care conveyed to such persons, whose ill opinion might have a particular ill effect on me, I could not be so over-charitable as not to think that the Writer or Publisher of this, or both, were not acted by so charitable and candid a Spirit as became men of their profession. I found these sheets first in a Stationers shop, and some hours after, that I might not want the comfort of them, they were left at my house by the Penny Post: I wondred much to see a man that professeth a zeal for the Christian Religion, act so manifestly against some of the plainest precepts of it. For besides the railing and ill language in it, and the uncharitable Inferences and Judgements that are made to my prejudice, the manner of doing it is so directly contrary to our Saviours rule of speaking to our brother first in private, and then in the presence of a few, before we proceed publickly against him; that in Charity to the Animadverter or the Publisher, I am bound to think that he made no reflection on that precept while he wrote or published these sheets. I speak of the Writer and Publisher as of two different persons, because he who is generally supposed to be the Author, did very seriously protest to one of the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, that whosoever was the Author of those sheets (which he did not directly acknowledge was himself) he did not intend to publish them till I had first seen them, but that he had put them in the hands of another to have them communicated to me, who without his knowledge published them; and he expressed over and over again some trouble by reason of their being Printed in such a manner. This I take as it was told, without making any reflections on it. It cannot be denied, but his friend shewed an officious keenness in this matter, and it is hard to tell whether in publishing them without his leave, he shewed himself less his friend
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than mine, and it was a strange piece of forwardness to Print such Animadversions without the Authors consent, especially he being here in Town.

I had indeed upon another great occasion, shewed how ready I was to receive corrections of such mistakes as I had made, and how willing I was not only to submit to so kind a censure, but publicly to own to the world both my own Errours, and the obligations I lay under, to that friendly and learned person who discovered to me some faults in the first Volume of my History of the Reformation of this Church. I confess the stile of these Animadversions had nothing of the gentleness and good breeding which was in the other Animadversions, and as much as the one exceeded the other in the matter, being really well founded, so much did it also in all respects shew the worthiness, the exactness, and the candour of the Writer, which, I confess, do not appear so very evidently in this: And I must say, if it was intended I should have seen it first, and so have been gained by it to have retracted what was amiss, the stile was not well considered: For he that reproves and corrects as a Brother, with design to gain ground on him to whom he offers such admonitions, ought to gild the pill, and do somewhat to temper the aversion that is too natural to all men for such discoveries.

As soon as I went home, and had got among my Books, I turned to the places for which I was accused, and quickly found there was no cause given for all those Tragical complaints; and that notwithstanding the discipline that was so liberally bestowed on me, there were only two places in which there was the least colour of advantage against me. The one was, that I cited a Capitular of *Charles the Great's* that was not full to the point, and forgot to refer to another that was much fuller. The other was, that I had taken *Zonaras's* words too large, and that what he had said was neglected by the greater number of the Bishops, I cited as if all the Bishops had neglected it. These being the only two passages for which I could censure my self, I did take heart a little, and presently writ a particular Answer to the Animadversions, in which there was mixed such a sharpness of stile, that how much soever I had been provoked to it, yet I could not think it any way becoming my profession to publish it with so much acrimony, which I thought might be more easily forgiven in that Paper, that was intended to be seen only by some few, and in particular by him that was
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supposed to be the Author of them, for I was not unwilling that he might see what I could in Reason and Justice say in my own defence, and in answer to him, though upon other reasons I did not think it convenient to publish it to the world in that stile.

In the beginning of his Paper I am told that there are *so many things that seem amiss in my Book, that it would be extremely tedious to see them all down, and that therefore some general hints, and a few instances are only pickt out.* This, I confess, I look on as an artifice too common to work much on any person, and therefore I do believe the Animadverter has done his worst: yet lest I should fall asleep upon this confidence, I am told in the end that if I do not speedily correct in a second Impression what is amiss in the first, I may look for some *rougher hand*; but what hand can be *rougher* that keeps the Kings Peace, and does not use a Cudgel or a Brick-bat, I do not imagine: For how I can be used more sharply in words, than when I am taxed with want of *Integrity* and *Ingenuity*, of *falsehood* and *sedition*, and being an *Enemy to the Government both in Church and State*, I cannot readily apprehend. But, I thank God, I have learnt to bear ill language and unjust dealing without making the ordinary returns. I will not pretend with the Philosopher to say, *If an Ass kick, shall I kick again*; but, I hope, I may be allowed to learn of our Saviour, who *when he was reviled, reviled not again*: and since he has commanded his Disciples to pray for them that despitefully use them: I shall make no other return to all those reproaches, but to pray God to inspire both the Animadverter and the Publisher with a better temper, and to make them consider well when they bring their gift to the *Holy Altar*, whether before they offer or consecrate it, they ought not to do somewhat previous to it, for the satisfaction of one, whom, without any cause that I know of, they have treated not as a *Brother*, but as an *Enemy*.

I once intended to publish no answer at all, but to rest satisfied with the Vindication which I offered to a few of my Friends, and to the sight of such as desired it, having laid my answer in a Stationers shop, where any that were curious might find it. I was firmly resolved against saying any thing in Print at all, for I thought in a time of common danger we had something else to be busied about than the engaging in personal matters, by which the Enemies of the Church might have the diversion of seeing us employ the Breffs one against another, and I had some time ago freely, and of my self promised to some of my Superiours, that if any thing in my Book,

Book should draw forth an Answer from any of the friends of the Church, I should sit silent, and leave what I had written to stand or fall according to the strength that was in it. This I meant only of such a fair answer, as might have been expected from a Scholar, or a Divine, and therefore I did not conceive my self bound by it, when I was so openly, and violently traduced, yet I was so exact to what I had seemed to promise, that I would say nothing of this matter, till one of the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church told me it was necessary for me to free my self of those imputations; and he undertook that my superiors should not be ill satisfied with it, if I wrote without reflection or sharpness of stile. Upon this Encouragement, I now publish my answer, and shall observe that caution so carefully, that I will rather give the Reader cause to complain that I write flat, than sprinkle it with that Salt, which is thought necessary to give some relish to this dull sort of writing. And if those that read what I wrote first, thought it too sharp, I am confident they will rather think this is too much in the other extream. I do not affect Satyre, nor am I so much concerned in what censures may pass upon me, as to endeavour to redeem my self from them, by any methods which are not suitable to the gravity and gentleness that become my Profession. I now come to the Animadversions themselves.

The first thing objected to me is, that the greatest part of the instances in the former and latter parts of my book are borrowed from *De Marca*, and that I disguise them as if I had taken them from the Originals: I do not deny that I read *De Marca* very carefully, but he must needs know, if he has compared the Quotations, that I have searched the Originals themselves: And indeed I do not remember of any one Quotation in that whole book, taken from second hand, which I do not cite as from that hand. For this he first cites page 27, 28, 29, 30. compared to *De Marca*, page 383. In all which there are but ten Quotations, of which four are not mentiond by *De Marca*, so that here are but six Quotations that he can pretend are from him. He again cites Page 205. 210. and refers me to *De Marca* 439. and 442. Page 205. there are four Quotations, of which three are not cited by *De Marca*, and for the fourth, if he will come to my closet he may see my mark on the book from which I vouch it. Page 210. there are but two Quotations, one is from *Baluzius* notes upon *De Marca*, and the other is from *Goldastus*, which though I have not by
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me, yet I compared it exactly, so this charge comes to nothing.

His next charge is, that page 16. I had asserted with *De Marca*, that there was no set quantity for the Christians oblations; but forgot to observe from him, that *Irenaus* said they exceeded the tenth part of their Revenues. I assert no such thing from *De Marca*, but from *St. Paul*, that he set no rate on them: And it was not necessary that I should vouch *Irenaus* from *De Marca*, when in that very page I cite his own words, *that the Christians did not give less than the Jews, who gave Tithes, but converted all they had to Religious uses*; and I do not see how necessary it was for me to say that *De Marca* had observed this.

The second head of my Accusation is of those passages, where in I have mistaken the words or the sense: I shall not criticize about the mistaking of words, which may be *miscited*, but not *mistaken*. He tells me he could at least produce 40 examples of this, but in great tenderness for me, he gives 7 for the specimen; so the other 33 are to be judged by these.

The first is page 13. He accuses me for saying that mention is made of Elections by the People in the Second and Sixth Canons of the Council of *Nice*; and affirms that mention is made of them in neither of those Canons. I see no way of conviction, but to consider the Canons themselves. In the Second, mention is made of some things that were done against the Ecclesiastical Canon *ἐπιταγῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, through the urgency of men; and they instance it in two particulars, the one is that they brought those who were newly converted from Heathenism to be baptized; the other is, that as soon as they were baptized they used *προάγειν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἢ πρεσβυτερίαν*, to promote or bring, or advance to a Bishoprick, or Presbyterate. Now though these words alone might perhaps be wrested to another sense, yet if we compare them with the History of that time, they can admit of no other sense; especially if we compare them with the citations from *Nazianzen*, page 32. And for the Sixth Canon that common suffrage of all *τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ἡμεῶν ἐυλόγῳ*, which was to take place, notwithstanding the opposition of two or three, can only be understood of the Election by the People: For that suffrage which the Bishops gave, when they approved of it, and proceeded to ordain the elected person, was not determined by the Majority: For the Metropolitan had a Negative. So that the Election where the Majority prevailed, must be only understood of the decree, that was made by the people.

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I did never deny that the Bishops had a power to confirm or reject this Election, but do expressly assert that they were Judges of the fitness of the person chosen.

Page 18. He accuses me for citing *Cyprians* words, *Epist. 66.* wrong, and to make this pass the better he puts those words which I had set down as my own, in *Italica*, to make it appear that I had set them down as a part of *Cyprians* words, and had rendred *qua nunc ratio & forma tenetur, instead thereof.* If the scope of *Cyprians* Epistle is considered, it will appear to how little purpose these words are cited. *St. Cyprian* is arguing against Churchmens meddling in Secular affairs, and he brings the instance of the Priests and Levites among the *Jews*, who were well provided for by Tythes, that they might have no temptation lying on them, to entangle themselves with the cares of this World. *Which reason and form, says he, is observed in the Clergy:* The reason was that they being well provided for, might be freed from these distractions, and the form was their receiving their share out of the Basket, as a Tythe of the fruits of the Earth.

In the end of this Paragraph, he accuses me for saying that *Origen* affirmed that *First-fruits* were only to be payed under the Gospel: and says that he mentions Tythes as due under the Gospel. By this it appears that either these Animadversions were writ in haste, or that the writers thoughts went too quick, for all I said was that *Origen* concluded that *First-fruits* only were to be brought to the Priest. And it is certain that he does not speak one word of paying Tythes to the Priest; but all along repeats that of the first-fruits: So that it does not appear that he thought it necessary to bring Tythes to the Priest. But I never said that he affirmed that first-fruits were only due under the Gospel. There is a great difference between what was to be paid to the Priest, and what *Christians* ought to set off for *Charitable and Pious* uses.

Page 52. He accuses me for saying that *Charles the Great* subjected the Church Lands to the common services, such as building of Bridges, &c. And I do not deny that the Capitular there cited does not clearly prove it; but it proves this, that those that were obliged to those services were to be required by such as the Bishop and the Count should name, and who these were appears by an ancienter Capitular of *Pepins the younger An. 793. cap. 20.* by which all persons were required according to ancient custom to repair Churches, to make Bridges and mend High-

ways, and none were to pretend immunity: Which is clearly a carrying on of *Honorius* and *Theodosius* his Law cited from *Justinians* Codex. Here I confess at the first view he seems to have some advantage, but what it amounts to, I leave it to him self to judge.

Page 71. He quarrels with me for citing some formularies concerning the endowments of Churches: and tells me those are the endowments of Monasteries and not of *Parish Churches*; But I did not name *Parish Churches*; this was put in by him, otherwise he had lost his Objection. I hope he does not deny that Cathedrals are Churches, though possess'd by Monks. I cite but four of these, and of the first it does not appear what sort of Church it was; of the second it is clear it was the Cathedral, where *St. Martins* body lay; and it mentions Rectors as well as the Abbot. The third and fourth that I cite, are general forms of endowment for Churches that had either Abbots or Rectors in them, and were to be filled up according to the constitution of the Church, to which the endowment was made.

Page 116. What I had set down concerning *Abraham* with a *perhaps*, and an *it seems*, he cites, as if I had positively asserted it, with this kind Animadversion, *that I wrest the Scripture to undermine the Clergy's maintenance.* If to commend the Princes that provided so liberally for the Clergy, and to condemn as a great wickedness the taking away or detaining that which is so dedicated to holy uses, be an undermining of the maintenance of the Clergy, I acknowledge my self guilty of it; but if this imports the quite contrary, then he was too inconsiderate in his censure. Nor will it serve his turn to say that some *Eastern Kings* did take Tythes; *that being begun when the Kings and Priests were one person*: For *Samuel* that is the ancientest Author cited for it, lived some ages after those two Offices were divided: And *St. Paul Heb. 7. ver. 2.* after that he had said that *Abraham* gave a tenth part of all to *Melchizedeck*, adds, *He being first by interpretation King of Righteousness*, and after that also *King of Salem*; and ver. 4. he says *consider also how great this man was, unto whom even the Patriarch Abraham gave a tenth of the spoil.* I leave it to any impartial man to consider if this will not justify my exposition, guarded with a *perhaps* and an *it seems*. It is true *St. Paul* argues afterwards upon the supposition of Tythes being due to Priests, but this was to the *Jews* to whom he wrote: But if he had intended to bring the Christian Church under the like obligation, it is not very accountable why he did not say one word about it, this being so proper a place for it.

Page 143. He challenges me for saying that the 14. Canon of the Council of Chalons obliged the Bishops in their visitations to confirm, and not to prey upon their people, and tells me that the Canon did only oblige, that when they did visit to confirm, they should not oppress their people: But the Canon in general speaks *cum Episcopi Parochias suas peragant, & si quando peraganda parochie necessitas incumbit*, and charges them that they should confirm, enquire what was to be amended, Preach the word of God, and that they should use their industry rather in the gaining of souls, than in the robbing and spoiling of their Subjects, and scandalizing of their brethren: Now I am not quick sighted enough to divine what can be made out of this.

Page 192. He challenges me for citing *Zonaras*, saying that there were no Stewards in the East in his time, and alledges that he says that many Bishops, and some Abbots did not regard the Canon, that enjoyned the use of them. But he says that the greatest part did not observe it, *ἡ πλείονος τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων*, in which it is true I enlarged the expression too generally, and put *no* for *few*, yet he contracts it as if it only signified *many*: But the whole matter is of no consequence. And now if the rest of the forty places be to be judged of by these as the sample, I shall not much apprehend the censures of Learned and impartial men; but if a man has before hand resolved to find fault, it will be no hard task to write severe strictures, on much better books than I can pretend mine to be.

But now I come to the third head of this accusation, of my omissions of many passages which the Animadverter thinks were as obvious to me as those I have cited; and he judges that they were past over by me, lest they should look too favourably on the Clergies power or their right to the Tythes. But he does not know if these were as obvious to me, as it seems they were to himself; and he must know me better than he does yet, before he can judge what my intentions are.

Page 40. He quarrels with me for not citing a part of the 23. Canon of *Antioch*, and the 13. Canon of the *African Code*, which speak of the Election of Bishops by the Metropolitan and the other Bishops of the Province. But this was not at all necessary to be mentioned, for I had laid it down as a thing undisputed, over and over again, that the Bishops had a power of judging, after the
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people had pitcht on the person ; nor was it ever imagined by any that I know of, that the Bishops met meerly as tools for ordaining those that were nominated by the People ; though violence was sometimes used, for which see what I have said *page 7, 8, 9, 12, 13.* therefore having laid that down as an unquestionable truth, there was no need of accumulating more proofs : So there was no cause to charge this on me as a designed omission.

Page 72. He charges me for leaving out the clearest and firmest proofs for Tythes, of the Fathers of that age ; and yet as there are none more eminent than *Chrysostom, Jerom and Austin* whom I cite ; so I do not remember to have fallen on any thing more exprefs for them in *Doctor Combers History of Tythes.* It is very strange that he does not observe a difference between the advising People to set off more than a tenth for Charities, and a rule obliging them to pay in a tenth, as a Rent due to the Priest. And that this was never set up in the Greek Church, nor authorized by the *Roman Law*, seems some inducement at least to a man of no extraordinary sagacity, to believe that the Divine right of Tythes payable to Priests, antecedently to humane Laws, was not the Doctrine of that age.

Page 119. He challenges me for not citing all the Laws made by *Charles the Great*, for the payment of Parochial Tythes, and is not satisfied that I cite two. But my purpose was to shew it was settled by him ; and I do not see the great need of telling how oft this was repeated by him : And after that I had said that *Alfred* had settled the payment of Tythes in *England*, I do not see why he should object to me the not mentioning the latter Laws that came afterwards : For either those were only confirmations of the former, and so they signifie nothing ; or all that could have been drawn from them was to represent the unwillingness of the People to submit to them, and who knows but he would have made this criminal in me.

Page 127. His next exception is that I say before *Caroloman and Pepin*, there had been no Synods in *France* for 80 years, that is from 662. till 742. and this still holds good, notwithstanding the four he mentions ; for by *Synods* it is plain, my meaning was Assemblies for regulating the affairs of the Church. Some meetings indeed there were in that interval, which seem rather to have been Assemblies of the Estates or Parliaments, than Ecclesiastical meetings : For in some of them the Priviledges of Monasteries were
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confirmed, and in other Bishops were condemned to be beheaded. But that which he cites from *Binnus* at *Chalons* is not in my Edition, nor will I enter into dispute with him whether *Utrecht* belongs to *France* or *Germany*. But for justifying what I said, *Boniface* his letter to Pope *Zachary* is a sufficient authority, for (cap. 2.) he writes to him that the *Frankes*, as ancient men then said, had had no Synod for above eighty years. This serves to acquit me and hereafter he may deal with *Boniface* as he pleases.

Page 129. He accuses me for passing over some words in a Canon at *Akin* which shew that *Charles* the Great believed that Tythes were due by a Divine right. But he cannot think I intended to disguise this matter, for page 113. where I first enter upon it, I do largely set out the Churches pretending to a Divine right for them; and it was needless to repeat this at every time, though I do expressly speak of it again page 140. and 141.

Page 180. He accuses me for leaving out that provision made for the Emperours power of annulling Elections by the Clergy and People, in the Popes concession of the investiture to the Emperour. But if this is not plainly enough insinuated in these words, that when a Bishop was canonically elected by the Clergy and People, he should not be consecrated till the Ring and Staff were given him by the Emperour, I am to seek as to the true use and sense of words: For this clearly expresses that the Emperour had a Negative, and by consequence the power of annulling Elections: and they are the very words of the Popes concession.

The fourth Head is of the contradictions he finds me guilty of, of these he reckons up three, but with what success I now come to examine.

Page 52. and 169. I had affirmed that Church Lands in *England* before the Conquest were subjected to the service called *Trinoda Necessitas*, for Fortifying Castles, building Bridges, and a rate for an expedition, and yet from *Matthew Paris* I assert that they held their Lands in *Frank Almoyn*, and so were free from all secular service. He acknowledges I have cited Right from *Matthew Paris*; so all his quarrel must be for what I say of the *Trinoda Necessitas*. I myself have seen it in some Original Charters in the *Saxon* time, which I am ready to shew him as soon as I certainly know his name. If there is a contradiction between these two things, I am not to be blamed for it, having good authority for all I affirm: And if there should fall to be a contradiction betwixt Original Charters, and *Matthew*

Paris, who was a Monk, and so ready to speak in favour of their privileges, one would think it were not very difficult to determine the controversy. But if they can be both reconciled, then the contradiction and objection both are out of doors. They were exempted from all constant and personal services, and so were free from the bondage of the feudal tenure, yet upon great emergencies they might be obliged to bear a share in the publick burthens.

The two other contradictions are a little odd. He tells that whereas *page 117*. I had made this distinction betwixt the Levitical Priesthood and Church-men under the Gospel, that whereas the former had not the charge of Souls, the latter had it; and yet *page 323*. I say the distinction of *with cure* and *without cure* is ill grounded, and favours too much of the niceties of the Canonists. Now where to find out the contradiction here, is really above my skill; I had asserted that Church-men under the Gospel have the care of Souls; and pursuant to this, I rejected the distinction of benefices *with* and *without cure*, (the word *benefice* was left out, for it would have spoyled this imaginary contradiction.) If the quarrel to me is, because I am displeased with those, that whatsoever be the nature of their Benefice, are sure to make them *fine cures*, I must submit to his indignation, for I cannot easily change my mind in that particular.

The next contradiction is no less strange, *page 126*. I blame Bishops for turning Souldiers; and yet *page 131*. I relate how they were forced to go to the Wars. Now if it is impossible to force a man to do a thing unbecoming his profession; here's a contradiction with a witness: But he may as well call it a contradiction to blame men for apostatizing from the Faith, and yet shewing how they were forced to it by Persecution.

Having thus far examined the contradictions objected to me, I now come to consider another part of my charge that falls under the fifth head, of my *odd and mistaken assertions, false reasonings, weak suggestions*, which only shew *ill will to the power and rights of the Clergy*; and of this he gives ten instances.

Page 18. I tell that *St. Cyprian* gathered 100000 Sesterces for redeeming Captives; and yet *page 21*. I seem to think it Poetry in *Prudentius*, when he mentions the Christians offering thousands of Sesterces: whereas I made no reflections on the quantity of the sum, but upon that accusation of the Heathens, that the Christians sold their Lands

Lands, and brought in the prizes of them, and of this all I say, is that it's hard to determine how much of Poetry may be in it.

Page 65. He accuses me, that in imitation of Mr. *Selden*, I cite Canons that were made to prevent abuses, and were frequently established upon one or two ill practices, to prove abuses crept into the Church, which he calls a *false and disingenuous way of arguing*. This I had said when I began to treat of the Canons of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and eight of these Canons do expressly mention abuses crept in: Now one would think that this might suffice to acquit me of falshood or disingenuity. The maxime is not more common than true, *Eex malis moribus oriuntur bona leges*, and few Law-givers have the foresight to prevent abuses, though all that are good have the zeal to condemn them when they appear.

Page 72. He accuses me for saying that in St. *Chrysostome's* time there was no rule set for the Charities of Christians, and says that my own instances prove they thought it a sin to give less than a tenth; yet St. *Chrysostome* expressly says he did not pretend to make a Law in that matter: and there is one distinction that he seems resolved never to observe, between the setting a rate on what the Christians were bound to pay into the Church, and the directions that were given them for their Charities.

Page 80. He condemns me for what I say against converting fines to Secular uses, and says that since the money raised out of Tythes may be applied to the maintenance of ones family, which is a Secular use, why may not fines raised by Leases be applied to the same purpose? But it's clear I was speaking of those Fines that were raised to the prejudice of ones successors or of the Church, so in this case I plead for the Rights of the Church. There is indeed no reason to blame the levying of fines, if the Leases do last but ones own life; but I cannot see why an Incumbent should have a consideration for those years in which his Successors may enjoy the Benefice.

Page 113. He says I applaud the distinctions found out to diminish the payment of a full tenth part, whereas I neither applaud them nor condemn them, but barely relate matter of fact: He also accuses me for calling it the heaviest tax that any Nation ever came under, *as if I forgot that this is all that men give for the provision of Ministers to look to their Souls*, which insinuates that he thinks it still too little; And says, that I do not consider that the Jewish Nation was put under a double Tythe by God himself. This last he

he knows I have considered, and shewed the difference between Jews and Christians: The former having their soil given them immediately by God, who might therefore lay what charge on it he pleased, which is not the case of Christians. A tenth in a cold climate, upon a moderate computation, will rise to a fifth, if not to a fourth part of the revenue. Now the People of this Nation are estimated at six millions, and the Clergy are about ten thousand; the six hundredth part of the whole. It will be necessary therefore that the proofs be very clear, before it can be easily believed that the six hundredth part of a Nation have by Divine Right, a title to a fourth or fifth part of its Revenue. One would think that the Taxes for the preservation of the State ought in reason to be much higher, the necessary expence of Government being much greater; and yet no Nation in *Europe*, unless it be *France* of late, has paid a half of the full tenth of the growth to the public treasure. He also goes on confidently in one mistake, though I have taken some pains to rectify it in my Book, that the Tythes are the Priests portion alone, whereas I have fully proved that at first it was appointed that they should be divided between the Clergy and the Poor: I confess, I have great prejudices to any Doctrine, which if true, puts a whole Nation in a state of damnation, and brings them under so hainous a guilt as the sin of Sacrilege must draw after it. He asserts the Parochial Right of Tythes, and that he that blesses the People has a right to them; and if this is true, then the King, and all the Nobility and Gentry that are impropriators, all the Bishops, the Cathedrals, Hospitals and Colledges who have impropriated Tythes in their Revenues, and all Non-residents who farm out the blessing of their people to their Curates, and yet raise the Tythes, must be every one of them in a state of damnation. For the last of these I am not very solicitous, but for the former, I will not easily drink in such a damning Doctrine.

Page 117. He accuses me for gathering some odd pretences to give reason why Tythes were easier to the *Jews* than to us: He says, I urge the vast number of the Priests, and one would think that the thirtieth part of a Nation (which was the lowest proportion of the Tribe of *Levi*) had a right to a greater portion than the six hundredth part. He also says that I urge the fruitfulness of their Land and the barrenness of ours, which, he adds, I drew from the Quakers

Quakers Books, but I can assure him, if he will believe me, I never read one of them on this Argument. I think it is no such Mystery but that any Man might have hit on it, that a fruitful Land may pay a greater Rate than a barren: But I have given no advantage to the Quakers for their unjust Robbery of Church-men, or rather the robbing of God, in detaining that which the Law provides for them; which it might well do, tho there were no antecedent divine Right making it necessary: and the Law, which is the Measure of Property, having determined this, the denying to pay it is as much Injustice, as robbing on the High-way: the Sin of which is not one jot the less, tho no Man can make out his Title to his Goods from a divine Right. And the Sin of this is so much the greater, as the robbing God must be greater than the robbing a private Person.

Page 118, he accuses me for affirming falsely concerning us and the Jews, that the same Rule was applied to all: tho I grant that the Jews Title was but a fifth Part, and know that the Christians was but a tenth. So here I lie against my Conscience. I will not say this is a willful Mistake in him, but I am sure it is a gross one; for the *all*, to whom I say the same Rule was applied, does not belong to Jews and Christians, but to the Northern and barren Climates, where the Returns are not above ten, five, and in some not above three. And for the kindness of his Censure, I leave it to his own Conscience to consider, how far he is bound to ask God Pardon for it.

Page 172. He condemns me for my Criticism about the Term *Bishoprick* Anno 1077, and says, that I bring Proof that it was earlier used: and yet all that Proof is the Title of a Chapter, where it is once used; and every Body knows that Titles were set before Books or Chapters some Ages after they were written.

Page 199. He accuses me for saying that Kings might begin the Seizure of the Goods of deceased Bishops, as representing the People, who before might make those Seizures: and whereas the Poor at first made them, he argues that the Kings could not be supposed to represent the Poor. But since I pretend only in this Matter to proceed upon Conjecture, any Error I may be guilty of, ought to be easily forgiven me: and I tell what might have fallen out in Fact, and not what is to be defended in Right. It is probable, as long as the Bishops were poor, the poor only spoiled their Goods; but when they grew rich, it is like enough others might have mixed with the poor in these Spoils, and that might have invited the Officers of Princes first to seize on them.

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Page 320. He accuses me for saying that there was nothing so dedicated under the New Testament as was under the Old, and cites that of *Ananias* and *Saphira*. But certainly great Difference is to be made between a voluntary Dedicat[i]on, and a divine Appointment, and between the Laws of God, that cannot be repealed but by the same Authority that first enacted them, and human Laws, that are still subject to the supream legislative Power.

But his last Instance makes Amends for all the Defects in the former. This Nation has been under great Apprehensions of Popery: many Expedients have been proposed, and the Dangers have been much considered, and nothing has been more seriously examined by both King and Parliament for some Years, but none of them were so wise as to foresee one Danger, with which he frights me: Because I determined, that a Popish Prince may extend the Regale to all Churches in his Dominions, and this he thinks an unreasonable Assertion to publish here in England, as our Case stands with respect to the next in Succession. But if this be all the Danger he apprehends, he may go to bed and sleep very securely, for the Regale is already in the Crown here, and has been for some Ages extended to all the Churches in England. So the next Prince can add nothing to what the Crown is already vested with.

* The sixth Head, for which I come under his Discipline, is the many gross Reflections on the Clergy, both ancient and modern, which he thinks prodigiously strange, and especially in this Age, and that the rather, that the Ground of many of the Accusations is false, and to bring this to Instances he complains, that

Page 26, I inveigh against the Corruptions of the Church in the Beginning of the fourth Century, and yet acknowledg that the better and sounder Part did still prevail in publick Synods: from which he inferrs, that if the major Part was good, there was no Ground for that Invektive: Yet any that reads that Passage will hardly find much of Invektive in it, and it's far short of what might have been cited from *Nazianzen* and *Chrysostom*, whose Credit he would be sure to magnify, if it made for him. The running backward and forward as they did, in the fundamental Points of Faith, will justify a far severer Character than I give of them: and may not a Church be corrupted, tho' the Majority continues sound? Nor can we judge of the Majority of a Church, by the Majority of a Synod, for all Bishops did not come to every Synod. And I may likewise add, that many will be guilty of ill Practices, that have not the Face to defend them, when they come to be examined.

Page 33. He accuses me for calling *Constantius* a superstitious weak Man, upon the Credit of *Marcellin* a Pagan Writer. How judicious a Writer he is, all learned Men know : and that Passage, I refer to, has been cited by many of the greatest Men of this and the former Age. Nor was it quoted by me as a Proof, but as an excellent Saying. The Law *Constantius* made for Churchmen, by which the driving of Trade and Merchandize among Clergy-men was set on, and encouraged, was severely censur'd by St. *Jerome*, one of the best Men of that Age, who saw the ill Effects it had. But he says, I represent *Martel* as a brave Man, who robbed the Church. Do I say any Thing in Commendation of him for his Vertues ? I only speak of his good Conduct and great Success in his Wars ; and if this raises his Spleen, I must conclude that he is very much subject to Vapours.

He, in the next Place, accuses me for representing *Pulcheria* as superstitious ; and cites two Authors that say, she was a prudent and pious Woman, but in this he shews no great Judgment of Church-Historians. The first is *Zonaras*, that lived almost seven Ages after her Time, so that he might have cited *Baronius*, or the VVriters of this Age, as well as one that lived so long after her. And for *Socrates*, he does not bring his History down to her Reign nor can I find a VVord of her in him ; tho in this I cannot be positive, having only cursorily run over his last Book. If he had quoted Book and Chapter, I could have sought it out, but the naming the Page, without he had also named the Edition, helps me little : yet I do not deny that she was a very pious and prudent VVoman, nor do I call her *superstitious* ; but say that she was, even to *Superstition*, let on raising the Authority and Greatness of the Church : which is a far milder Expression than that he fastens on me.

Page 54 He accuses me for thinking that the Strength of our Separatists lies in the ill Lives of the Clergy : But in what does he think their Strength lies ? Is it in their Cause, or their Arguments ? I am sure if I had said this, he would have charged it home upon me, and with Reason. But after all I only say the chief Advantages that the *Donatists* then took, were from the Corruptions of the Clergy : and this he must either know to be true, or he is a great Stranger to all St. *Austin's* VVritings against them : and that Discourse I conclude with this general Expression : *That in those Prejudices, with which the Vulgar are poss-est, from the Disorders which they observe in the Persons and Conduct of Church-men, lies the Strength of all Dividers from the publick Constitutions :* which I set down as a general

ral Maxime, without applying it to our Separatists.

Page 59, To shew his great exactness in Chronology, he says, that before the fourth Council at *Carthage* the African Churches had been lately oppressed by the *Vandals*; but *Baronius* and the Collectors of the Councils, place this Anno 398, and the first mention of the *Vandals* invading *Gaul* is Anno 406. Nor did they invade *Africa* till the Year 427, 28 Years after this Council. The other Parts of this Remark are not worth the answering.

Page 120 He says I boast of an odd Discovery of the VWeakness or Disingenuity of the Bishops, in making two contrary Decrees in one Day: but adds, that if we compare *de Marca* with *Baluzius*, both these make good Sense in one Law, and have no Contradiction in them. *Baluzius* speaks not a VWord of the Canon, and only sets down the Edict: nor does *de Marca* offer to reconcile them, but only says that the Bishops made the Canon according to the Ecclesiastical Rules; and that in the Assembly of the States they would not struggle against the King's Inclinations. But if the *Annuling of Ordinations made by Authority, without the regular Way of Election*, which is in the Canon, be not plainly contradicted by the *Proviso* that is in the Edict, *for excepting from this Rule those that were chosen out of the Palace*, I must learn again the Use of the Parts of Speech.

Page. 141 He accuses me of speaking, without any just Ground, contemptibly of the divine Right of Tithes, and for calling Arguments for it *irksom Stuff*: and all this is, because I speak slightly of those who run it up to *Adam*, and say that *Abel* was a true Tither, and *Cain* a false one; of this I shall say nothing, but refer it to every good Judge. He also complains that I with Satisfaction relate (Page 196, and 200) that all was thought well gotten by Princes, that could be got from the Clergy; tho I express no Satisfaction at that, but on the contrary great Regret at the Scandals of Church-men, which made Princes and others lose that esteem that former Ages had for them.

Page 166 He accuses me, that here and in many other Places I industriously search for those Canons, that may reflect most on the present Bishops and Clergy, and omit many that were more pertinent to the *Regale*: when he discovers these Omissions I shall be beholden to him, but till then, I must look on these as so many angry VWords; nor are any of the Bishops that I know concerned in those he refers to.

But his Displeasure against me rises higher in the seventh Head,
in

in which he represents me as a Criminal against the State; and the Care that was taken to convey these Animadversions by the Penny-Post to a great Minister, who is known to have much Goodness for me, shews well on what design this was writ.

Page 97 He says I enlarge the Words of *Gregoras*, but wisely adds, if his Edition is right; so he is safe till I know his Edition: but let the Reader take them in Greek, and then see what can be objected to my Translation: *διὰ τὸ τὸ τοιοῦτον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἐκλέγονται τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἵνα τοῖς τέττον' ἀχερώς ὑποκρίπῃσι περὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ δὲ περὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀπόντων ἐναντία φεγῶσι.*

Page 199 He accuses me for saying that Princes do commonly assert a Right for any Thing which their Ancestors have once practised; and to this he answers that of late Parliaments in *England* have done this oftner than Kings. But what am I concerned in this? I did not blame Princes for Building upon Prescription, but was only historically shewing, that the Practice of the Regale was confest to be an Abuse at first, but after a while's Continuance, it was claimed as a Right.

Page 244 He shews first great Unacquaintedness with French Constitutions, in calling the *Court of Parliament at Paris the Parliament of France*: And when *Francis the first* had delivered up the best part of the Liberties of the French Church to the Pope; he insinuates as if it were Sedition in me to reflect on the Arbitrariness of that King, and the ill Effects of that Temper: nor do I know what relation this has to late Proceedings, except he will presume to fasten the Imputations of Arbitrariness upon his Majesty. But as it was observed to be a Mark of good Times under the Romans, when Men might safely speak against the Tyranny of former Princes; so his Majesty's mild and gracious Inclinations are so well known, and his Resolution to govern according to Law hath been so often and so lately declared, that I am not at all afraid of incurring his Displeasure by speaking against *Arbitrariness*.

Page 250, 251 He mentions a large Encomium I give of stiff Parliaments, which he says he needs not transcribe, nor tell what it aims at: nor need I tell what he aims at in this. But it seems he cannot tell what I aim at; for he mistakes the Thing, and does not rightly distinguish between their Courts of Parliament in *France*, which answer to our Judges; and their Assembly of States, which answers to our Parliaments. The Ground of that Contest was, Whether they should deliver up their Liberties to the See of *Rome*? and if he condemns me for commending the Firmness of Judges

Judges in this Point, it's plain enough what he aims at.

And for a parting Blow he concludes, that the whole Discourse is so very partial for Popular Elections, and strains all Places to make it seem they had more Right than indeed they ever had, that it seems writ to court the Favour of the People. But if he would temper his Acrimony a little, he would see that I have overthrown the Argument for popular Elections much more effectually, than if I had entered into a long VVrangling about Matter of Fact. I shew that they began not upon any divine Right, but upon the Circumstances in which the Church was during the first three Centuries: And that as soon as the Government became Christian, the Town-Councils and Possessors of Lands took it out of the Hands of the Rabble; which had not been observed by any that writ before me, that I could fall on: so that I think I have effectually overthrown any Argument that can be drawn from the Practices of that Time. One thing I must observe that on which Side soever I may seem to write, I must fall under his Displeasure; for when I assert a Prince's Prerogative of extending the Regale to all the Churches of his Dominions, he tells me of the Danger of a Popish Successour: and if I acknowledg Matter of Fact as to popular Elections, he says I write for the People. I see I am irrecoverably lost with him; but a Man must bear his Misfortunes with a patient and constant Mind.

The eighth Head is of divers Errours in Chronology, which he is pleased to suppress: tho it appears by his Inquiries into the History of the *Vandals* that he has a peculiar Talent in that. Some Men always love to be tolling great Names, and therefore he is ever frightening me with the Authority of Dr. *Beveridge*, whom, for his great Learning and rare Worth, I esteem as much as any Man I know: and he, to his other excellent Qualities, adds so generous and worthy a Disposition of Mind, that he is not at all offended with those, who cannot in every Point agree with him. Therefore as long as I use that Liberty to which all that converse in Books have a Right, of following what I think best grounded, notwithstanding the learned Performances of worthy and great Men, I am not at all afraid of incurring his Displeasure.

His last Exception falls on the Compositors and Correctors, and therefore I am little concerned in it.

When he had thus performed this Piece of Discipline upon me, in which if I have escaped without any harm done me, I have somewhat else than him to thank for it; he dresses up a new Scene that he may fall on me again; and as if all that had been said, were nothing,

thing, he begins anew. He leaves it to his Friend to communicate it to me or not, when between them it was resolved to send it to the Press. Then he makes his Conjectures about my Temper, and says, *Perhaps I will despise it, and study Revenge for this modest Admonition.* I confess I cannot admire it, but I heartily pity him for writing it, and do earnestly pray to God to inspire him and all Church men with a better Temper: and this is all the Revenge I shall return on him. But sure he has a peculiar Dictionary of English Words for himself, when he calls this a *modest Admonition*. Yet, whatever he thinks of me, it's very evident from what follows, that he thinks well of himself. But to drop some Crumbs of Comfort, as a little Oil after a severe Whipping, he saies he is loth to believe that I should directly design Mischief to the Church, and is willing enough to believe that this Piece was writ in haste: and then he tells me on what Terms he may be confirmed in this favourable Opinion: yet, lest this Tenderness should make me too wanton, he adds, that if this *modest Admonition* does not work on me, I must expect a rougher Hand. But to this I gave my Answer in the Beginning of this Paper.

As for the Books that he enjoyns me to read, if this is all the Penance he will lay on me, I hope I may recover his Favour. I have read and do much admire Dr. Beveridge his Vindication of the Apostolical Canons, and am fully convinced by him, that there was an Ecclesiastical Rule or Canon received in the Church before these Councils that met in the Beginning of the fourth Century. But if I am not yet persuaded that that was put in Writing, and in the same Form in which we now have it, and instead thereof think it consisted rather in a Tradition, and constant Practice, I hope that excellent Person will be more favourable to me, than to think the worse of me for it.

He next directs me to some Authors that have writ of the Right of Tithes: but I wonder he did not name Dr. Comber his late celebrated Book on that Argument, for whose Person and Writings I believe he has a singular Affection and Esteem; yet I can assure him that tho that Book came into the World too late for instructing me before I writ concerning the Regale, yet I have read it perhaps with as much Care, and more impartiality than he used in reading mine; and do look on it as a very learned Work: and hope that worthy Doctor will not make War with me, if I cannot be in all Things of his mind. I think I have now said enough to satisfy all disinterested Persons, and even the Animadverrer or the Publisher themselves.

selfes, that there was no just Cause given by any Thing in my Book, for such severe Censures as he fastens on me; and I hope he is freed from the Apprehensions he seemed to be under, lest Papiſts and others should take Advantage from any Faults in this Book to weaken the Credit of my other *Pieces*: which honourable Compellation is bestowed on some Volumes in Folio, that have had the Luck not to be ill-received in the World. But I hope the Credit not only of those *Pieces*, but even of my *Piece* of the Regale, shall not suffer much by the Performance of this *Piece* of his Animadversions.

So much I have thought fit to say in my own Vindication. I hope all along I have not forgot the Caution that was given me, of tempering my stile so, that nothing of resentment should appear in it: If any Thing has escaped me, that favours of it, it has fallen from me unawares; and I humbly beg Pardon for it of the Person concerned.

F I N I S.



A
SERMON

Preached at the
CHAPPEL
OF THE
ROLLS,

On the Fifth of *November*, 1684.

BEING

GUN-POWDER-TREASON-DAY.

By GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

L O N D O N:

Printed for the Author, and are to be Sold by *R. Baldwin*,
in the *Old-Baily* Corner, upon *Ludgate-Hill*, 1684.

07:: 3730

THis Sermon as it was the shortest
I ever preached, so was not at
all intended for the Press; but
some Discourses that have been raised upon
it, made me conclude, it was in some sort ne-
cessary to publish it for my own vindication.

I have writ it out with all possible exact-
ness and fidelity; tho since I do not read my
Notes, nor repeat them word for word, I
cannot answer that either in this or the o-
ther Sermons that I have printed, my Pen
has so governed, or followed my tongue, that
there was no variation between them; I
am sure it is here printed as near the words
I used, as I can remember them; and in this
I have not depended only on my own memo-
ry, but on several of my hearers, who heark-
ned to that Sermon with more than ordinary
attention, and do think it is very punctually
set down here as I spake it.

I am sure the last part of it, that presses Loyalty and Obedience, is not at all enlarged beyond what I not only preached in that Sermon, but on many other occasions, in which I appeal to all my Hearers. But I leave the Sermon to speak for it self, and me both; and will refer it to every man's conscience that reads it, to judge whether or not I can be concluded from it to be a Person disaffected to His Majesty's Government.

PSAL.

P S A L. XXII. 21.

Save me from the *Lion's mouth*, for thou hast heard
me from the horns of the *Unicorns*.

WE have no greater encouragement in our Ad-
dresses to God, than the remembrance of past
deliverances; and we never Worship him more
decently, than when we mix our acknowledg-
ments for what is past, with our Prayers for what is to come.
So *David* here implores the Divine Protection in an extream dan-
ger, which is poetically exprest, by the *Lion's mouth*, the figure
of a *Lion* importing the strength as well as the rage of his Ene-
mies; and its *mouth*, importing the nearness of the danger, which
perhaps relates to the hazards he run of falling into the hands of
Saul. And with this he gives the reason of his confidence in God,
even in that Extremity; because in some former dangers, which
are expressed by the figure of being *on the horns of the unicorn*, or
Rhinoceros, and so being ready to be tossed up, or torn by it, God
had heard him. This perhaps relates to his deliverance from the
Lion, and the *Bear*, or from *Goliath*. It is needless to enlarge
more upon the words. Three things occur very naturally to our
thoughts from them, with relation to this present occasion.

The first is, the apprehension of danger from a formidable and
cruel Enemy.

The second is, a hope of preservation founded on former de-
liverances.

And the third is, the mean that is here laid before us for our
preservation; it is prayer to God, that he may *save us from the
lion's mouth, who has before heard us* (that is, in the Scripture phrase
delivered us) *from the horns of the unicorns*.

For the first Particular, I will use no Preambles, but plainly
tell you, that it is the Church of *Rome* which I mean, that is
both so strong and so cruel an Enemy; and is as a *Lion* going
about seeking how to devour all that differ from it. As for the

Strength

Strength of this Enemy, it may be measured by the Empire which that Church has assumed, not only over mens Persons, but over their Consciences: This being indeed the Fundamental Doctrine of that Church, of believing as the Church believes; of delivering up Mens Reasons and Consciences to be led blindfold into whatsoever Doctrines or Practices their Guides impose upon them; and making them think, that to doubt of any of these is a Sin, and that therefore it must be opened to the Priest, and cannot be taken away, but by his leave, and Pardon given by him. The Mystery of Popery lies not so much in other Speculative Opinions, as in this main Point, That we ought not to trust neither our Reason nor our Senses in the examining such Articles as that Church proposes to us, but must take them all, and her Authority to boot, which determines all the rest, upon her own Word: So that the main thing in controversy between the Church of *Rome* and us, is, Whether we ought to enquire into the Will of God our selves, or must take it upon trust from our Guides?

A Church that has established such a Tyranny upon the tenderest Part of our Natures, our Reason, which is the most jealous of its Liberty, as well as the most desirous of it, no wonder if she takes it ill to see so sacred a Secret look'd into; for, as it will not bear an Inquiry, so every Inquiry into it, is a Step towards the shaking it off. And therefore, as her Power is absolute over her own Votaries; so she must bear an extreme Hatred to any that will be so impudent as to pretend, that their Understandings are exempted from her Yoke.

Other things concur in that Church to confirm this Empire. The Belief of the Priests Power, both of Transubstantiating the Bread and the Wine, and of granting Absolution, makes it seem very reasonable to trust a Body of Men, that are so wonderfully qualified, with the Keeping and Conduct of other Men's Consciences. And after the most essential, as well as the most uneasily subdued Power of a Man was conquered, no wonder if the lesser Matters, such as Wealth and Dominion, should follow the other, as a sort of Perquisites. He that can forgive the Sins of the Living, and Redeem the Souls of the Dead, will drive a sure Trade for himself; for though it cannot be sure that what he does is ratified in Heaven; yet the belief of it, whether it gives Heaven to the Purchaser or not, is sure to bring the best part
of

of this Earth to the Seller. Men do not return to tell that they were cheated in the Bargain, and to demand an Equity. On the contrary, in dark Ages nothing was more common than pretended Apparitions and Voices to confirm the Imposture; which have vanished in an Age that is more apt to suspect and examine such things, as the Illusions of our Dreams fly from us whenever we are awake.

But the Night was so long and so dark, that no wonder if so gainful a Trade was carried on with great success: And who would stand much upon the Case, after they had parted with the Jewel? So Mens Reasons being once given up, no wonder if Wealth, and all other Secular Advantages, were thrown into the Bargain. A Church established upon such a Bottom, and supported with so much Wealth and Power, and defended by such Multitudes, who as they have all their Proportion of the Spoil, so are tied to it by Vows, as well as engaged in it by Interest; and that has subdued so great a part of the World, and claims a more than ordinary Title to us, as having been once a very valuable Part of her Empire, is justly to be looked on as a great and formidable Enemy.

But it is not the Greatness of an Enemy, that makes him so Formidable; it is his Rage and Cruelty that gives the most mortal Apprehensions. The old *Romans* made the Nations that they subdued, Gainers by the Conquest they made of them: But the Modern *Romans* are more unrelenting Enemies. They first make all their Votaries look on such as are not of their Party, as Hereticks, that is, Men hated of God, and devoted to Damnation. Now it will be no hard thing to inspire Men with Cruelty, when they are once possessed with such inveterate Hatred and Aversion to a sort of Men who they believe are to burn in Hell for ever; and so they think they but co-operate with the Justice of God, if they help this forward, and bring it on a little the sooner; especially when such Fires purify the Air, which would be otherwise corrupted with their Heresy.

A Church that has substituted this Wildfire of Rage and Cruelty, to these gentle Flames of Love and Charity; and that, instead of making us love one another, makes us destroy and burn one another, is the most opposite thing possible to a Society founded on the Gospel; as if, instead of the Union that ought to be among Christians, we ought only to be bundling up Numbers

bers of them in Faggots, to be burnt or blown up. All means possible are taken to impose this Cruelty on the World, which without some Practice and extraordinary Endeavours could not be wrought up to such a Pitch, as to lay down the Bowels of a Man, and take up the Rage of a Wolf or Lion.

Bishops among them are made to swear at their Consecration, That they shall *perfecte Hereticks to the utmost of their Power*. Decrees of General Councils have been made for the Extirpating Hereticks; and Indulgence, with the Pardon of Sins, have been promised to such as should assist at it. And because there is somewhat Great and Generous in the Nature of most Princes, therefore they have decreed, That if they are remiss in this Affair, of Extirpating such as the Church condemns of Heresy, which is only a soft Word for being the Churchmens Executioners, they shall be first Excommunicated; and if they persist in their merciful Inclinations, they are next to be Deposed, their Subjects to be acquitted of their Oaths of Allegiance, and their Dominions to be disposed of to other more Zealous, that is, less Merciful Catholics.

Thus all possible Ways are taken to engage all sorts of People, both Clergy and Laity, both Princes and Subjects, into these Cruel Practices; and therefore the Bloody things that have been done among them, are not so much the Excesses of Particular Persons, as the Natural Effects of the Established Doctrines and Rules of their Church, which seems to have forced them upon all within it, with so affected a Care, as if those who had managed it had been jealous that Good Nature and Common Humanity would have been too hard for them, if this Machin had not been set on by so many strong Springs, that nothing should withstand it.

So in short, here is an Enemy that if it prevails it must either swallow up our Souls, or will be sure if that projects fails, to succeed in that which it has in reserve, it will devour our Bodies.

If any say, that these were effects of heat long ago, which are now disowned by that Church.

To such this must be answered, That as *Bellarmine* says, the Church does not always put in practice her power of deposing Princes, because she is not always able to execute her Censures; so this Doctrine of extirpation is either really hid from some
good

good-natured Profelytes, whose hearts might perhaps turn against a Church that should authorize such barbarities; or is cautiously and prudently enough disowned by those who know it, till they see a fair conjuncture and a fit opportunity: and those who do not now see it, may perhaps then feel it.

But we are not to seek long for instances of this cruelty, when we have such a crying one in our eyes in the business of this day, which is the Second thing I proposed to speak to. Where we have a Crime before us that far surpasses all the invention of former Ages: for never was there one single action, that would have produced such mischievous effects, as one spark of Fire would have done here, if God had not heard and delivered us from the horns of the Unicorns. None could suspect the nature of man of so black a design: and it was less to be apprehended from men of the same Country, if the becoming a Profelyte to Rome did not make a man both forget that he was a man, and an Englishman. Nor was there any violent oppression in the case; which often makes even a wise man mad, for they were under so little pressure, that the Government was a little censured for its remissness: so that a Merciful Prince and a gentle Reign do not allay their fury. It had been long in consultation among them, as may appear by this one Instance among many more that might be given: *Delrio* a Jesuit in a Book Printed at *Louvain*, but five years before this, puts a Case, *Whether if a Confederate discover in Confession that he or some else have placed Gunpowder, or such like matter under such or such a house, and unless it be removed, the House will be blown up, the Prince destroyed, and as many as are in or going out of the City, will sustain great mischief, or run an extreme hazard, the Priest ought to reveal it?* *Delrio Dis. Mag lib 6. chap. 1.* It is determined in the Negative, that he ought not to do it; and for this he cites a Bull of Pope Clement the Eighth's, against the taking any notice of things discovered in Confession, which though it related only to Superiors, and required them to take no notice in their Government, of such things as they know in Confession, yet the Jesuit argues from thence, that the Pope approved the opinion, that Confessors ought to behave themselves in all respects, as if they had heard nothing at all in Confession. This being published so near England, and so near the time when this Train was laying, shews that it was then in their thoughts; for it is a case that had never before fallen out, and so was not likely to have fallen in-

to a mans thoughts, if the thing had not been in consultation among them. In conclusion, when a sufficient number were cemented by so many Oaths and Sacraments in such a black design, then it was laid with so much artifice, that it was not probable it could have miscarried. Thus were our Fathers upon the *horns of the Unicorn*, when by an unlookt for accident it appeared, that that eye to which those dark places lay naked, took pity on us, and laid this open to the preservation of King and Queen, the Prince, the Clergy and Nobility, the Commons and all others whom that great solemnity of the meeting of a Parliament commonly brings together: besides the crouds round about the place, who would very probably have had a large share of so devouring an Earthquake, as so much Gunpowder must have produced. It is true, some humanity was left, but it was only to their own Party; warning was given to so many, that there was not above *Three words Saving*, in their account, in all that vast Assembly, who were not advertised to absent themselves, as Sir Everard Digby writ out of Prison to a Friend.

One of these Advertisements being conveyed very odly to a Lord of that Religion, gave him the happy opportunity of being the instrument that brought out all this secret provision for so many deaths that was laid up in store. The bold Incendiary that undertook the thing, was taken, and all broke out: but then, though a great many of those who had not learnt the *depths of Satan*, were so far overcome by the Discovery, as to confess all, yet as one of these was prevailed with to retract that afterwards, but a few minutes before his death in prison, which prevented his suffering by the hand of Justice, so the Jesuits shewed on this occasion how they can steel their Consciences, both in undertaking the blackest Crimes, and in throwing off that guilt with the most impudent denials. *Garnet* their *Provincial* did this to a degree of assurance, that astonished those who took his Examinations. Sir Everard Digby, one of the Conspirators, in his Letters, of which I have seen the Originals, calls that Conspiracy, *A Cause dearer to him than his Life*; and so powerfully had the poyson of that Religion corrupted his thoughts, that in all his Letters writ

writ during his imprisonment, even in his last Advices to his Children, there is not the least hint of Repentance for his engagement in so vile a design; though in all other respects he appeared to be a man that was both Vertuously and Religiously inclined; such an influence has that Religion even on the best natures.

If after all this, these had been only the execrable practices of some Assassins, though it would have left some Imputation on a Church, for having such Members in her bosom, yet it might be well enough put by with this, that there will be still Cockle among the Wheat, and that there was a Traitor among the Twelve Apostles. But if these things were done pursuant to the Doctrines of that Church that makes it lawful to kill Hereticks, to depose Princes, to dissolve the Bonds of Allegiance, and to give their Dominions to others: then we may more justly charge the guilt of this day upon the Church it self.

It gives very just grounds of suspicion, that the Pope never made any Declaration of his detestation of that Crime, though, as I have been credibly informed, it was much desired: on the contrary, two Priests that had engaged in it, getting beyond Sea, were well received and provided for even by the Pope in Rome it self. And the Jesuits have made Prints and Pictures for Garnet as a Saint, and fables of straws that wrought miracles by virtue of some drops of Blood that fell on them, which afterwards were converted into little pictures, have been proposed to the World as evidences of his Saintship. In a word, it is plain that these who engaged in this Conspiracy, were carried into it by the Principles of their Religion, and that they were so far from being condemned for it, that they were supported and justified both living and dead for what they did in it.

And that Learned King, though by the goodness of God he never felt the effects of the bloody rage of that cruel Religion, yet he knew it well, and therefore upon a solemn occasion he protested to his Counsellors *That he would never so much as grant a Toleration of that Religion, but would spend the last drop of blood in his Body before he would do it; and praye that before any of his Issue should maintain any other*

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Religion than what he truly professed and maintained, that God would take them out of the world.

Since then, notwithstanding the close management as well as the secret contrivance of this cursed Plot, which was so near its execution, that the whole State both of this Church and Nation was in a danger, not unfitly expressed by their being on the *horns of the Unicorns*; God yet heard our Fathers and delivered them, who have handed down to us the remembrance of that great Salvation that he wrought for them on this blessed day; then all the Royal Family descended from that King, all the Nobility and Gentry, whose Ancestors were markt for Destruction, all the Clergy to whose burning that fire was the fore runner, unless they resolved to save themselves by Apostacy, and the whole English Nation that was then like to have seen so *black a day*, and have fallen under so *dark a night*, ought all to joyn together and say, *O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, for his mercy endureth for ever, Amen and Amen.*

And because *his mercy endureth for ever*, therefore we ought still to pray to him to preserve us, and to say to him, *Save me from the Lion's mouth*, which is the third thing in my Text. We believe there is a secret Providence that governs the World, and that discriminates between the good and the bad, and therefore we ought to address our selves to that Providence, as well as to depend on it and submit to it; and since the Religion that we profess is the Cause of God, and the dearest of all other things to him who delivered it to the world, who sealed it with his own Blood, and in whose hands the Government of all things in Heaven and in Earth was put by his Father, he may well quiet our minds, amidst all the fears and apprehensions which melancholy thoughts may suggest to us. God will not abandon his own Work, nor will Christ forget that which was the purchase of his own Blood. We may indeed make our selves unworthy of it, and the cry of our sins may go up so loud to Heaven, as to drown these softer whispers of our Prayers and Thanksgivings.

It is our contempt of God and Religion; our unreformed Lives amidst all the noise we make of the Reformation, our forgetting past Mercies, and our insensibility to all the Methods of
Divine

Divine Providence, that ought to make us fear the *Lion's Mouth*, and every thing else that is dismal and frightful: and therefore if we would have our Prayers to be effectual, we must take care that our Lives may not defeat our cold and slender Devotions.

But as we desire to have our Prayers to be heard, so we must take a particular care to join no Endeavours with them that may argue a distrust of God, or of our Religion; and while we have a Zeal against Popery, as a bloody, a rebellious, and a cruel Religion; we must do nothing to shew that we are acted by the Spirit of Popery, even while we seem to oppose it. All Malice to Mens Persons, all desire of Revenge, the thirst of Blood, fierce Zeal, and indecent Rage, are the Characters of the Persecuting Spirit that reigns there: We must not think ill of every particular Man among them, because of their Corruptions, which perhaps he does not know; and if he did know them, would disown them. We must think as charitably of men as we can: for though there is very little Charity due to the complicated Body, and the governing Part of that Church; yet we owe a great deal to many particular men in it, who are still in it, because they have not known the Depths of Satan; and would very probably forsake it, if they saw so well as to discern them.

But above all these, we must never forget the Station in which God has put us, as we are Subjects under a lawful Prince, to whom we are tied both by Divine and Human Laws: and even the *Lion's Mouth* it self opening to devour us, can never excuse us from our Obligation to submit and suffer, if God had so ordered it by his Providence, that we had not the blessing of being born under a Prince that is the *Defender of the Faith*, but were born under one that would deliver us up to the L I O N. Much less ought Jealousies to be so blown into our Minds by ill disposed men, as to make us forget our Duty to God and the King.

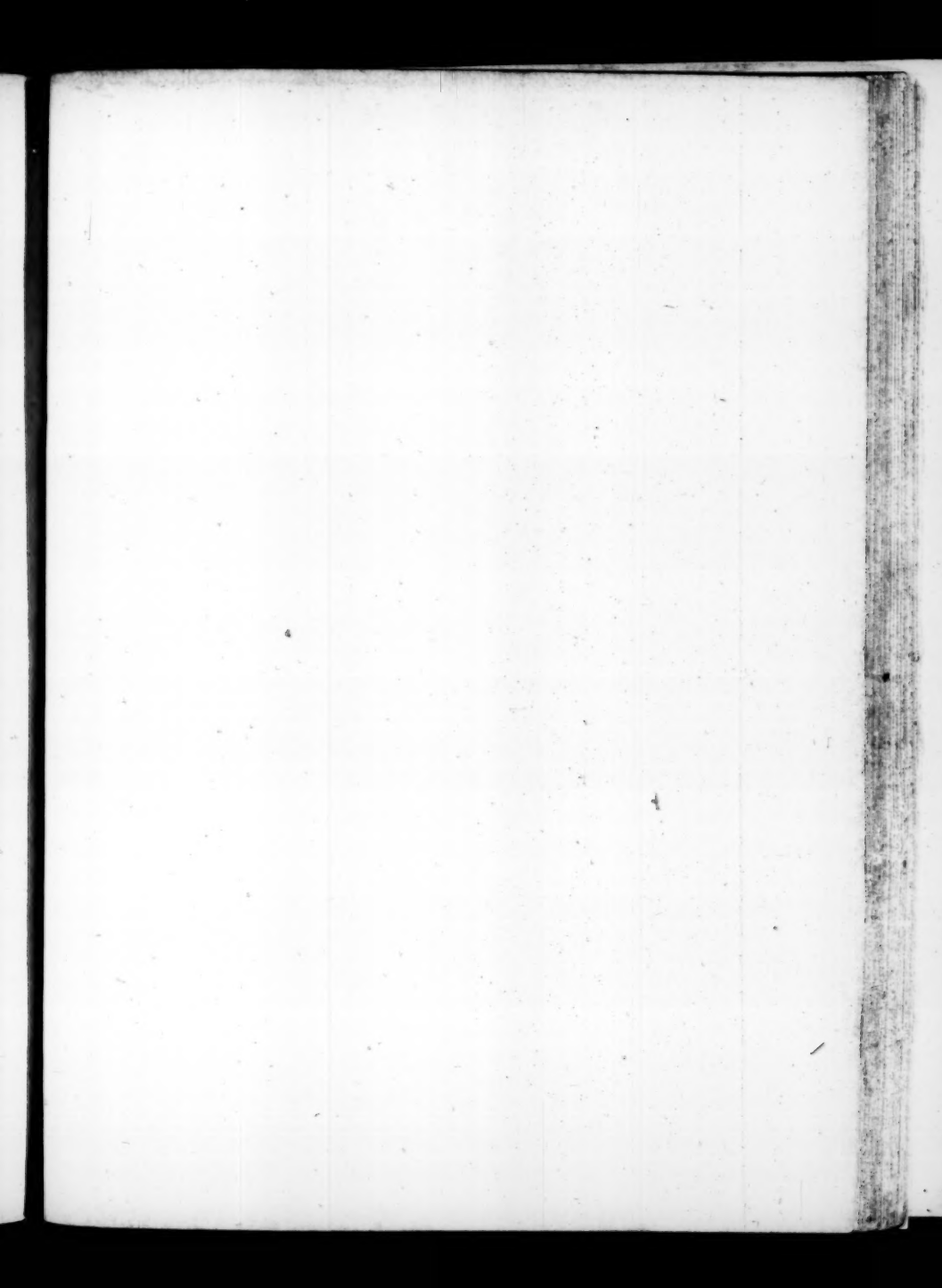
Suffer me here to speak this freely, that the late Rebellion, as it was managed with a Popish, that is, a Bloody Spirit, so many of the Arguments that were used to defend it, were taken from Popish Authors.

When we go out of the way of Patience and Submission, of Obedience, and of bearing the Cross; when we give scope to Passion and Rage, to Jealousy and Mistrust, and upon this
Fer-

Fermentation in our Minds we break out into Wars and Rebellion; we forget that the God whom we serve is Almighty, and can save us either from a devouring Fire, or a *Lion's Mouth*; and either will save us from these, or reward us infinitely for them: We forget that the Saviour whom we follow, *was made perfect by Sufferings*; and that we become then truly his Disciples, when we bear his Cross, even though we should be crushed under it: We forget that our Religion ought to inspire us with a contempt of Life and the World, and with meekness and lowliness of Mind: We forget that we are the Followers of that glorious Cloud of Witnesses, who have *by Faith and Patience inherited the Promises*, and have gone to take possession of the Kingdom that was prepared for them, through Fire and through Blood, but it was their own Blood. And to sum up all, we forget that our Reformation was the shaking off of Popery, that is, a bloody Conspiracy against the Souls and Bodies of men: against the Souls of the Weak, and against the Bodies of the Firm, but Innocent Professors of this Holy Religion. We are not to share with them in their Cruelty, nor imitate them in their Rebellion.

But on the other hand; If we will live so suitably to our Religion, that we may be thereby entitled to the blessing of enjoying it, and of being secure in it; and if our melancholly apprehensions make us pray more earnestly to the Great Author of it, then we may lie down in quiet; for God will either make us to dwell in safety, and deliver us from the *Lion's Mouth*; or if he gives us up as a Prey, yet at least we shall even in Death overcome, and obtain the Crown of Life.

F I N I S.



LETTER

FROM

GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

TO

Mr. SIMON LOWTH, Vicar of *Cosmus-Blene* in
the Diocess of *Canterbury*.

Occasioned by his late Book of *the subject of*
Church-Power.

Reverend Sir,

I Know no other Address to you, but this of the
Press, which I hope will find you out: you have
forced me to deal so publickly with you, by your
beginning with me; and which is yet worse, by your
refusing to give your own eyes that Satisfaction
which I desired a neighbouring Clergyman of yours
to offer you.

When I saw your Letters to the two Deans, in
which you accused the Dean of *St. Paul's* for his *copy-*
ing out unfaithfully the Papers of Cranmer and the o-
ther Deans, which he had published, and added, *that I had*

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also

also printed them imperfect, and so had abused the House of Commons unto an approbation of my History of the Reformation, (where by the way, I cannot imagine why you left out the House of Lords, whose Approbation is printed with the other.) I confess, I wondred upon what you could found so heavy a Charge. I printed no Record in that Collection without comparing the Copies exactly with the Original, for I thought that too important a thing to trust it to any Person whatsoever : Therefore finding my self accused of a designed Fraud, which, if true, must needs shake the credit of my whole Book ; I did what I could to prevent your bringing that Shame upon your self, which I do now unwillingly lay on you, not so much for the support of my own Credit, as for maintaining the Reputation of that Work. I therefore desired your Neighbour to tell you, that I was sure I had printed all those Papers faithfully and exactly, without departing from the Originals. in any thing but the spelling : I added, that if you thought fit to fall on any Discourse or inference of mine, you might do as you pleased ; but if you accused me of Unfaithfulness, in publishing any of the Papers that are in my collection *imperfect*, I should be forced to justify my self, tho to your cost : for in such Accusations a Man ought not to be over patient. I bid him also tell you, that as I had printed those Papers exactly, so if you had a mind to see the Originals

nals themselves, I should procure them for you : this was done many Months ago. He brought me an Answer from you, that I could make nothing of ; but now I see it in Print, and so I will examine it.

You say that if you may believe the Dean of *Windfor*, Dr. *Durel*, there is among these Papers in Dr. *Stillingfleet's* MS. one of Dr. *Leighton's*, in which there are two Assertions contrary to *Cranmer's* Opinion concerning Church-power, and that *Cranmer* signed Dr. *Leighton's* Paper ; from which he infers that *Cranmer* changed his Mind, and subscribed to *Leighton's* Opinion ; and of all this, you say *I have given no account to the World, but have omitted it in two Impressions.*

I would willingly believe the best of every Man, and make the best of all things that I can, and therefore I should have imputed this to an extream carelessness in you ; but since you have charged me so severely for Unfaithfulness, and abusing the House of Commons in it, and since you refused to accept of the Satisfaction which I had offered you, I must crave leave to tell you (for it is a hard thing, and needs a Preface to soften it) that you have accused me both uncharitably as to the manner of it, and unjustly as to the matter : Since these very things that you say I have left out, are in my Collection, taken *verbatim* from the Original, which will appear by my setting down that which you cite from the Dean of *Windfor*,

and that which is in my Collection, over against one another.

There is indeed a variation in the Words, tho none in the Sense : mine is exactly according to the Original : and the Variations of the Dean of *Windsor* from it, tho they make no change in the Sense , yet are too many to be the Mistakes of a Transcriber : therefore I am apt to think that as Dr. *Durel* writ them out, he put them either in *Latin* or *French*, intending perhaps to make use of them in one of these Tongues, and that afterwards he translated them into his own *English* when the Manuscript might be perhaps no more in his power to copy them from the Original. The Reasonableness of this Conjecture will appear from a view of the Words themselves, as he and I have published them; for I have published all *Leighton's* Paper, together with *Cranmer's* Subscription at the end of it.

The words that you cite from the Dean of *Windsor*, pag. 485. of your Book, l. 24. are these.

I suppose a Bishop according to Scripture, to have power from God as his Minister, of creating a Presbyter;

The Words I have, *Hist. Reform. vol. 1. Coll. Rec. Book 3. pag. 227. l. 36.* are these.

I suppose that a Bishop hath Authority of God as his Minister by Scripture to make a Priest, but he ought not

ter ; tho he ought not to promote any to the Office of a Presbyter, or admit to any other Ecclesiastical Ministry in a Commonwealth ; unless the leave of the Prince be first had. But that any other have Power according to Scripture I have neither read nor learned by Example. 2. I suppose Consecration to be necessary as by imposition of hands, for so we are taught by the Examples of the Apostles.

not to admit any man to be Priest, and consecrate him, or to appoint him to any Ministry in the Church without the Princes Licence and Consent in a Christian Region. And that any other Man hath authority to make a Priest by Scripture, I have not read, nor any Example thereof. And P. 230. l. 22. I suppose that there is a Consecration required as by imposition of Hands, for so we be taught by the Ensamble of the Apostles.

And Pag. 243. l. 3. from the bottom, where Dr. Leighton's Subscription is set down, there is set by it *T. Cantuarien.* Thus, Sir, you see you may believe the Dean of *Windsor*, and believe this further, that you have slander'd me *falsly* : if there is any harshness in these Expressions, the things themselves draw them from me, and your unaccountable Behaviour in this matter has brought them on you. I wish—that instead of reading any other Books, you would read the Gospels and Epistles more carefully ; and before you venture to treat of such tender points as Church-power,

power, that you will learn to practice the Rules of Justice and Christian Charity (not to speak of Prudence and common Discretion); and then the Advices of your Friends will prevail more with you than your own Heats : for tho you flatter your self so far as to fancy (as you began your Preface) that there was a *huge din and noise, Pannick almost and universal, raised in London and else-where, for two full years and upwards, occasioned by your Treatise* ; I assure you I never heard of any ; tho none, after the two worthy Deans, were more concerned in it than I was ; all that look'd into it (for I spoke with none that had quite read it) said it could hurt no body but the Bookseller or your self ; tho I have not heard that the Chancery ever gave Equity against an Author for an unsaleable Book. Many wished for the Churches sake, and for your own sake, that she might not suffer by so ill an Advocate, and that you would not discharge your Spleen on two such eminent Men, whose Works (as well as their Persons) will be had in Honour, long after both you and your Book will be forgotten. You are indeed proud of the Honour of assaulting two such men, and tell the World that their Eminence was no small Motive to you to undertake this Work, and give this modest account of your self (*Preface, pag. 7. l. 22.*) *Doth the King of Israel go out as against a Flea ?* I confess this is a lofty Figure, and the Application of it to your self is somewhat

what extraordinary. But there was a Roman Emperor that used to be shut up *catching Flies*, and I am afraid some will think that since you will borrow a Figure from a Crowned Head, this had become you better; but you have secured your self by writing in a Stile so unintelligible, that as I hear few read your Book, so I am confident no body can understand it, and so to be sure they will not answer it. Yet since you tell the World that here *is a course of Studies upon full thoughts and a thorough consideration*: you had best do as another Roman Emperor did, write *of your self*, and illustrate your Book with Annotations, and I suppose the Bookseller will take care that it shall only be *to your self*. You tell us that your Book *is born with a Beard, as the Jews say Esau was*: it is indeed hairy all over, and so rough is the shag, that it will not submit to the Discipline of a *comb*. I shall only offer to your Consideration, one Passage which I hope you will not forget in your Annotations; it comes just after that humble comparing of your self to the King of *Israel*, and I suppose your Spirits were a little exalted upon so glorious a Figure, and so you have risen above my pitch. The words are remarkable; *Nor do those of meaner Order and Quality undertake that Authority which is in it self none, falls of it self to the ground, nor was ever influential upon any?* This is but one of many, and is the shortest I could pick out. I suppose you had

had a meaning when you writ it, tho perhaps in the two full Years and upwards in which it stuck so that it is overgrown with Hair, you may have lost it. I shall conclude with two short Advices ; the first is, That if you intend to write any more, you will learn first to write true English, then to write good Sense ; but I believe this will prove so very hard a Task , that the best and easiest Advice can be given you, is, that you will write none at all ; but set about matters of a *more close and comfortable importance* ; in which I wish you better success than you are like to have by your Book, and am , notwithstanding this freedom with you,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

London De-
cember the
20th, 1684.

G. BURNET.


London : Printed for Richard Baldwin in the Old-Baily Corner on
Ludgate Hill, 1685.

*An ANSWER to a Letter to Dr.
Burnet, occasioned by his Letter to
Mr. Lowth.*

07: 3732

S I R,

I Thought you had some remnants of Shame and Sense left with you, and that a Correction you met with some Years ago, had brought you a little into order: but, as was then observed, *Nature is Nature still, and will return and have the better*, where neither Religion, Virtue, nor good Manners, have force enough to restrain a petulant and insolent Temper.

You intend to support a Forgery, of which I have reason to suppose you the Parent, as well as you are now the Nurse
A  to

to it , and therefore you are tender of your own *Brat*, but with what success I can even make you your self the Judge; and if you knew the opinion that I have of your sincerity, you would believe this was a great evidence of my being very well assured that I am in the right. But some men have got a trick of facing all things down with Noise and Impudence , and imagine that blustering and foul Language will carry all before it.

In short, for no Man can take pleasure to rake a Kennel long, you discharge a whole Sheet full of Slime and Choler at me, for asserting that I had omitted no part of that Manuscript of *Cranmer's* ; and that I had particular printed that for the omission of which Mr. *Lomib* has accused me, whereas you tell me that I have only Printed the Sub-
scription

scription of *T. Cantuarien*, to an Assertion concerning Exrream Unction, and that I have not added it to the Assertions concerning *Church Power*. Now how any Man that had his sense about him, and thought that I would call him to an account of it, could venture on so gross a piece of falshood and folly both, I cannot easily imagine; so that really I am inclined to think, the last new Moon, or the New Wine, have their Shares in it.

In the beginning of those Papers, *Pag. 201. line 6.* Where I set down their Title, I tell, *That as they are taken from the Originals, under the Hands of those Bishops and Divines,* so I add, *That in copying them, I judged it might be more acceptable to the Reader to see every Man's Answer set down after every Question, and therefore they are published in that Method.* Thus in-

stead of setting every Paper entirely by it self, I set every Man's Answer under every Question ; to which I was advised, as being the easier method to give a view of their Thoughts of every particular all together. And *Pag. 242.* when I come to the last Question , I set this down on the *Margent*, over against *Crammer's* Subscription ; *These are the Subscriptions which are at the end of every Man's Paper.* After all this, no man but *you*, could have been so forsaken of common Sense and **Honesty**, as to pretend that the Subscription to which I refer, was only to the last Article concerning **Extream** **Uñction**, and not to the whole Paper ; and by this same art of Reasoning, you may pretend that your Subscription belongs only to the last line of your Letter.

I do assure you I do not admire your
Understanding

Understanding so much, as I perceive you do your self; yet I did not think it was so sunk, for this is such childish and gross ignorance, that your Friends had best enter a *Caveat*, lest you be beg'd for it. But I am afraid your *Morals* are more in fault here than your *Intellectuals*. You thought somewhat must be said for supporting your Friend, and so took hold of any thing could furnish out a *Letter*.

And now for the Flourish and Garniture of your Letter, it is so like the Author, that none who have given themselves the trouble to read any of his Books, can miss him. The Character is indelible, and sticks as close as if he were stigmatized with it. I will let it all go, for I am not practis'd to search among Excrements; only one remarkable Line in it deserves some Observation. You
sprinkle

sprinkle a little Civility, p 2. l. 13. and call my History, *the only good thing I ever wrote, that could recommend me to the kind Opinion of Honest Men, that know the difference between English and Scotch.* This lew'd Reflection on a whole Nation, as it shews the clownishness of your Temper, for all your pretence to Courtliness, so it shews your contempt of the King and the whole Royal Family, and of that blessed *Martyr* himself, that was born in that Kingdom, notwithstanding all your Affectations, and writing of *Addresses* in the Name of the *Primitive Church.*

But thus it is, That because in the last disposal of Bishopricks, the Secretary to the Primitive Church was forgotten, he who but a Year ago set His *Majesty* above Christ himself, and taxed the Expression of praying for the King as
Supream

Supream under Christ, as crude not to call it *profane*, is now so disgusted, that he says, *Honest men* (and to be sure he ranks himself in that number, tho he is singular in that too) *know the difference betwecn English and Scotch*. And thus while you fall on me, you secretly discover what lies at your Heart ever since the last Disappointment. But now that you have so wisely taken a whole Nation to task, it seems you intend to have all the Characters of the Rehearſal tranſproſed to you; and that you are not contented with being *Bays*, but you will be *Draw-can-fir* too. I wiſh you a better mind, and am,

Yours &c.

I have now juſtified my ſincerity in my Hiſtory, and that being eſtabliſhed, I will think my ſelf little concerned in all

all the *Billingsgate* Language that you or any else can throw out upon me. I would not have said so much, if there were not some Occasions in which it is necessary to *answer a Fool according to his Folly*, as well as there are others in which it is as necessary *not to answer him according to his Folly* : And as I have brought my self, not without some uneasiness, to treat you as you deserve, so it will be much easier for me, to despise all you can say, and to be silent hereafter.

FINIS.

L O N D O N: Printed for *Richard Baldwin* in the
Old-Baily Corner on *Ludgate-Hill*. 1 6 8 5.

LETTER

Occasioned by the second LETTER to

Dr. BURNET,

Written to a Friend.

SIR,

I Saw another nameless Paper directed to me two days ago ; and indeed it was so dull, and so little to the purpose, that I laid it aside as unworthy of an Answer : But you have perswaded me once more to put Pen to Paper, tho not to satisfy such a Trifler, who would pretend to Wit, if he knew how to lay his Claim to it ; but it is so coarse, and his good Nature and Candor are so conspicuous, that I did not wonder to hear a witty Gentleman say, That I had certainly hired one to write it ; but I scarce know where I could have found out such another. I do not trouble my self to ask after his Name ; for till he gives himself one, I must let all lie where I laid it before, since his Protestations, without a Name set to them, are things of as little weight as he that makes them, and must go for nothing, as certainly he that writ them, is one of the next things to nothing.

But since I understand, that some who have read the Papers that have passed in this matter, desire to see the whole thing fairly stated, which, in such Points of Fact, is of more force than all other Discourses can possibly be ; I will set it in a clear light, and then it will appear what a sort of Men I have to do with, who will so obstinately keep up a Noise where there is no Cause or Colour given for it. The state of the whole thing is this :

In King *Henry* the eighth's time, the method that was taken, while the Points of Religion were under Consideration, was this : A Matte

was put into Queries, and these were given out to some Bishops, and other Divines, who by a set day were required to bring in their Answers to those Queries under their hands; and then these being examined and compared, they went on to determine it. So when the Sacraments came to be enquired into, there were seventeen Queries drawn up, and given out to a select number of Bishops and Doctors, the last of these happens to be concerning Extreme Unction. Some of these relate to Church-Power; as, *Whether the Apostles lacking a higher Power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by Authority given by God? Whether Bishops or Priests were first? Whether a Bishop hath Authority by the Scripture to make a Priest, or no? And whether any other, but only a Bishop may make a Priest? Whether in the New Testament be required any Consecration of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the Office be sufficient? And whether, if it fortune, that a Christian Prince, having none but temporal learned Men with him, conquered Infidels, if it was forbid by the Law of God, that he and they should preach and teach the Word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute Priests, or no?* The like Question is put in Case that all the Bishops and Priests of a Kingdom were dead; *Whether the King of that Region should make Bishops and Priests to supply the same, or no?*

To these Queries *Cranmer* gave Answers, that shew he then thought, "That Bishops and Priests derived their Authority from the King, as much as Officers of State, Mayors and Sheriffs do; That Ordination was only a decent Form of Admission; that Princes might dispense with it, and that no Grace was given in it, any more than in the committing Civil Offices; and that what the Apostles did, was only by reason of the extraordinary Measure of the Spirit of God, that was in them; to which the People that had their no Christian Prince to govern them, did freely submit, considering the Apostles not as Men that had any Empire or Dominion over them, but as good Counsellors. So he thought Bishops and Priests were at first the same thing, and one Office; and that Princes as well as Bishops, might make Priests; and that Consecration was not necessary by Scripture to make one a Bishop, or a Priest, but that Election, or Appointing thereto was sufficient: And that in Cases of Necessity, Christian Princes might make Bishops and Priests.

The Archbishop of York differed from *Cranmer*, and argued these Points copiously, considering the Nature of those Papers, and proved, "That the Apostles had Power from Christ to ordain Bishops and Priests; and

“and that no other Authority was required for doing that, but that
 “which they derived from God; and that a Bishop is the Overseer of
 “the Priests, who are the Shepherds of particular Flocks; which distinction
 “he said was derived from the Apostles and the primitive Church; and
 “asserted, That none but Bishops or Priests could make a Priest: And
 “by a great many Arguments both from the Old and New Testament,
 “he prove that Consecration was necessary, and that Appointment
 “without it was neither convenient nor sufficient; and that tho in cases
 “of necessity any Christian, tho a Lay-man, might preach and baptize,
 “yet he could not make a Priest; for no Authority that comes
 “from the Holy Ghost can be used by any Man, unless he has a
 “Commission for it grounded in Scripture, Tradition, or ancient
 “Use; and that this Authority was only committed by Scripture
 “to the Apostles, and was from them derived to their Successors.

All the other Bishops and Divines, except the Bishop of *St. Davids*, whose Paper is lost, agreed with the Archbishop of *York* in most of his Opinions; only some of the Divines, *Leighton* in particular, thought that a Christian Prince's Consent ought to have been asked by the Apostles, if there had been any at that time, before they had gone to make Bishops and Priests. In the Point of Bishops and Priests being the same thing, or a distinct Office at first, *Leighton* it seems, was doubtful, for he says nothing to it. *Robertson* thinks, that a Priest may consecrate a Bishop, if a Bishop cannot be found. The Bishop of *St. Davids*, *Thirlby* the elect Bishop of *Westminster*; *Coxe* and *Redmayn* thought that Bishops and Priests were all one in the beginning; and both *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, and *Edgeworth* agreed with *Robertson* in this, That a Priest might consecrate a Bishop, if a Bishop could not be found. As to the necessity of Consecration, *Robertson* yields it, but thinks the Office so given can never be used without the Consent or Permission of the Magistrate; which Limitation is not added by *Leighton*. In Cases of Necessity both *Leighton* and *Robertson*, as well as many others, think the Prince may make Bishops and Priests.

After they had all given their Answer to the seventeen Queries, every Man, except the Bishop of *Rockester*, signed his Paper; and *Cranmer* not only set his Hand to his own Paper with that modest Qualification, *That he did not temerariouſly define, but referred the Judgment of it wholly to his Majesty*; But set his Name likewise to *Leighton's* Paper, which has given the Rise to all this Noise; and set it also to *Robertson's*, which the late Scribblers have not

thought fit to observe, tho they could not but see it; for it is in the same Page with the other. Upon this, some have hastily inferred, that because *Cranmer's* Name is at *Leightoun's* Paper, therefore he retracted his own Paper, and subscribed to his Opinions. I have by other clear and unexceptionable Evidences proved, That *Cranmer* did indeed change his Opinion in those tender Points: but as if there were a Spirit of Contradiction in some People, they will not accept of this, but will lay hold of this slight Colour of his signing *Leighton's* Paper, on which I laid no weight; and therefore tho I printed the Papers to a Title as I found them in the Manuscript, yet I took no notice of this in my History: so howsoever I might be accused for passing it over in my Discourse concerning it, there was no reason to accuse me for Unfaithfulness in my Collections: but that Part of my Book galls some People, as giving a Credit to the whole History, and therefore they must accuse my Fidelity in that, upon which the Credit of the Book is founded, otherwise there were no considerable Service done; And it would give a specious Colour beyond-Sea to disparage that Work, to say, that Divines of (or rather in) the Church of *England*, have detected my Unfaithfulness in publishing the Records, for that strikes at all; So a Man that was resolved to have a Coach and six Horses at any Rate, at last found out a Journey-man to do this Piece of Work for him; and he has, very probably, entred it into the particular of his Merits.

Cranmer's subscribing these Papers, cannot be understood to be his assenting to all the Opinions contained in them, for they differ in several particulars from one another; and he could not subscribe Contradictions: And tho he had assented to their Opinions, it does not clear him of that for which the Presbyterians; or the Erastians may vouch him; for in the main Point that relates to Presbytery, concerning Bishops and Priests being at first the same Office, which *Cranmer* had asserted; *Leightoun* saies nothing to it (See *Collect. p. 225.*) so *Cranmer* retracts nothing upon this Head; and *Robertson* thinks, that where a Bishop cannot be had, a Priest may consecrate a Bishop, which is also a main-Point: He likewise thinks, that a Church-man ought not to use or exercise his Function, without the Consent or Permission of the Magistrate, which is all that most Erastians plead for: so if this Subscription is a good Argument, *Cranmer* is theirs still; and both *Robertson* and *Leightoun* think, that in Cases of Necessity Princes may make both Bishops and Priests, and I know few Erastians that plead for more.

Thus

Thus it is plain, that suppose it were granted that *Cranmer* had by signing these Papers subscribed to the Opinions contained in them, he may still be cited both by Presbyterians and *Erastians*, so that if it were not for the other Evidences that I gave of his changing his Mind, which no person had ever observed before me, he might still be cited by them, notwithstanding these Subscriptions. All that I can make of the Subscriptions is, that he might according to a Rule that some Ministers of State have observ'd, set his Hand to those Papers, as a mark that they might not be altered: and as to *Leighton's* Paper, there may be this particular reason for it, that *Leighton* not being in the Commission, of which I take notice in my History, p. 289. *Cranmer*, who it seems ordered him to write Answers to those Queries, might have set his hand to his Paper, as a warrant to him for having writ them, I confess these are but conjectures; but to guess somewhat probably, is all that can be done at this distance.

I have now opened this matter so particularly, that I hope I have satisfied the desires of those who complained that the thing was left too much in the dark.

As for the method in which I published them, I could make a short defence for it, since it is well known that a very eminent Person took the direction of that whole Work into his particular care; but since I am not so near him as to obtain his leave for naming him, and that I will not do it without his leave, I shall tell the reasons that were suggested, for following the method in which I have published them; The method in which they lie in the Manuscript is this, first the Queries are set down, then every Man's Paper comes, first Arch-Bishop *Cranmer's*, then the Arch-Bishop of *York's*, and so forward according to the order in which they are under every Query: All these Papers are Sign'd at the end of them, except the Bishop of *Rochester's*, but there is but one Signing for all, and there are no special Subscriptions to any particular Articles (as some have fancied,) so that the Subscription to the last Article belongs to the whole Paper, and to every Article in it: After these come two Papers, the one in *Latine* and the other in *English*, in which the agreement or disagreement of them all is marked, *Cranmer's* only excepted; so that it seems these were for his private use: Now, since every Paper relates to the Queries without repeating them, the Queries must either have been repeated to every Paper, or the Reader must have been always turning Leaves to find them out; and if any Man had the curiosity to examine their agreement or disagreement, he could
find

find it out much readier in the way in which they are put than if I had followed the method in which they lie in the Manuscript; and these Papers in which they are already compared, come in more naturally at the end of every Query; and can be more easily examined when one has under his eye at one view all their Opinions, than if they had come in at the end of all after all the Papers had been set down; so that this Method very well becomes the exactness and the true Judgment of him that advised it. On the Margents every Man's Name is set over against every Article of his Paper; so that if one will read a whole Paper in an entire Thread as it lies in the Original, he has an easy work, and is only to seek *Canterbury, York*, or any other, all through the 17 Queries, and he finds it without any confusion or difficulty.

And now, what is to be said to all this? Is there any thing here left out, or mangled, or disguised, or any thing else done sufficient to justify a small part of the Clamour that is raised? The reflections made in this last Letter on the Dean of *St. Pauls*, are too visible to be carried off with the good words that introduce them; if he had writ his Book after my History, it might have been pretended that I had misled him, though these Gentlemen's Friends know to their Cost that he is not apt to mistake in his Quotations; but he who writ his Book almost Twenty years before mine, and had the Manuscript so long in his hands, saw it as it is; and therefore all that is said from this against the Method that I took in publishing these Papers, is meer fooling: But the truth is, the Dean saw well enough, that there was nothing in all this matter that deserved to be taken notice of.

His Arguments, such as they be, is a Civility that he had no reason to expect from any on this side the Water. A Man may differ from him both in Opinion and Argument; and yet none but he that can *Drawcanfir* like, kill both Friend and Foe, and arraign a whole Nation, would treat a Man of his worth in so rude a manner: but as the Devil is known by his Cloven-Foot, so the attacking such Men is a little too early and too bare-fac'd. If I was guilty of a mistake in my last Letter, I will acknowledg it as soon as the Author of this gives himself a Name; and if ever he on whom I laid it, finds but half the reason to lay any Paper to my charge, that I have here, I will allow him all the liberty he shall be pleased to take: but I will say nothing upon an Anonymous Paper. I confess I acquit him freely of any accession to this; for I believe, though he would set about it,

it; he could not bring his stile so low, nor write so ill: I do not trouble my self to find out the Author. *Dull and pers* are such common Characters, that without a more particular mark I cannot trace him. I confess a fit of kindness he falls into upon my naming the *Blessed Martyr*, leads me a little nearer, for I remember I saw a Dedication to the second Peer of *England*, that began MY DEAR LORD; upon which one askt if the Author was Married to him: but if he will be as good as his Word, and pay me the Ten Thousand Thanks in full tale for every time that he finds the *Blessed Martyr* in my Writings, he will be very hoarse long before he gets through them.

As for his bringing himself off from that *trude*, not to call it *pro-fane* reflection on a whole Kingdom, 'tis ill nature in me to take notice of it, since I hear all cry that on him for it; for his contracting what he laid indefinitely on a whole Kingdom, to a few persons, is a Figure well becoming his Wit and Candor. His ranking me with a Man whose Face I do not so much as know, is another of his Flowers; he may perhaps hear more of him than I can tell him, from one that Lodged so long at *Nat. Thompson's*, if he happened to be in his House when he Printed the Appeal from the City to the Country, in which I have been told *Ferguson* had a hand.

As for the Zeal that all this sort of Men pretend for the Crown, the Book that is the foundation of this Stir, is a good Indication of it, which without any straining, falls so evidently within a *Premunire*, as I hear an Honourable Person has observed, that the Writer owes his not being questioned for it to His Majesties Clemency, and to the neglect that both he and his Book are under. There is another Sect beside *Presbytery*, that has first degraded Kings wholly from their Ecclesiastical Supremacy, and after that point was gained, made them reign at the Mercy of the Church, and at the Pope's Courtesy: It were too bold to attempt both at once, and it is ingeniously enough done, to seem to yield up the one wholly, till the other is gain'd. But in all this matter their *Honest Mr. Lowth* is quite forsaken, since his false charging me for leaving out that passage of *Leighton's* is not so much as pretended to be justified: it seems this Writer is very scant of Epithets, or thinks there are few that can fit *Mr. Lowth*, that he has no other for him in both his Letters but *Honest*, so that one would think it is a part of his Christian Name. Epithets are chosen with relation to the matter in hand: Now, though he may be a very honest Man in all other things for ought I know, yet I

am sure he was neither *Wise* nor *Honest* in this particular; but it seems his Friends that set him on, think they are bound in honour to fetch him off.

I confess this Trifler is modester than he was, for whereas he, Sir *Hudibras* like, valued himself, that *the King of Israel was not to go out as against a Flea*; this Writer more humbly compares his Letter to a *Flea in my Ear*: but how *Fleas* are so much in their favour, I do not know; the last was a truer Figure for an Animal of a higher form had suffer'd by the comparison: But, with my Readers Pardon, I will venture to take it a little lower, and assure him it is as dead as if it had been shut up in a Microscope a Week. I do not blame him for rising a little higher in another Figure taken from the Marble; it is his top-flight, and it were pity to see a whole Sheet without one touch that can be calumniated with *Wit*. So far have I complied with your desires, in contradiction to my own Inclination: I am sure this matter is at an end, so let the whole Pack bark as long as they will, I will not write one word more on this subject. I am with all possible respect and duty,

Jan. 24.

Sir,

Your most humble Servant

G. Burnett.

L O N D O N, Printed for Richard Baldwyn, at the
Old-Baily Corner. 1685.

A
LETTER

Written to

Dr. BURNET,

Giving an Account of

Cardinal *POOL*'s Secret Powers :

From which it appears,

That it was never intended to confirm the
Alienation that was made of the Abbey-Lands.

To Which are Added,

Two *BREVES* that Card. *POOL*
brought over, and some other of his
Letters, that were never before printed.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, in the *Old-Baily-Corner*
on *Ludgate-Hill*. 1 6 8 5.

REF ID: A61111

Dr. BURNET

Attention that was made of the Abbey lands.

07 :: 3734

Two BREETS and one POOL
brought me and some other of his
family, and we were



A

LETTER

T O

Dr. BURNET,

Giving an Account of Cardinal *Pool's*
Secret Powers.

S I R,



Have fallen on a Register of Cardinal *Pool's* Letters, which carries in it all the Characters of Sincerity possible. The Hand and the Abbreviations shew that it was written at that time. It contains not only the two Breves that I send along with this, but two other Breves, besides several Letters that past between Card. *Pool*

A 2

and



and the Bishop of *Arras*, that was afterwards the famous Cardinal *Granvell*; and others that past between *Pool*, and the Cardinal *de Monte*, and Cardinal *Morone*, and *Soto* the Emperor's Confessor. There are also in it some of *Pool's* Letters to the Pope, and to *Philip* then King of *England*; and of these I have sent you two, the one is to the Pope, and the other is to *Philip*: But with these I shall give you a large account of some Reflections that I have made on these Papers, since I hear that you desire I would suggest to you all that occurs to me upon this occasion.

You have given the World a very particular Account, in your *History of the Reformation*, of the Difficulties that were made concerning the *Church-Lands*, in the beginning of Queen *Mary's* Reign; and of the Act of Parliament that past in her Reign, confirming the Alienation of them, that was made by King *Henry* the Eighth; and of the Ratification of it made by Cardinal *Pool*, who was the Pope's Legate, and was believed to have full Powers for all he did.

You have observed, there were two Clauses in that very Act of Parliament, that shew there was then a Design form'd to recover all the Abbey-Lands: The one is, a Charge given by *Pool*, to all People that had the Goods of the Church in their

their hands, to consider the Judgments of God that fell on *Belsazzar*, for profaning the holy Vessels, even tho they had not been taken away by himself, but by his Father : Which set the matter heavy upon the Consciences of those that enjoyed these Lands. The other was, the Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain* for twenty Years ; for since that Statute was a Restraint upon the profuse Endowments of Churches, the suspending it for so long a time, gave the Monks Scope and Elbow-room ; and it is not unlike, that within the time limited of twenty Years, the greatest part of the Work would have been done : for Superstition works violently, especially upon dying Men, when they can hold their Lands no longer themselves ; And so it is most likely, that if a Priest came to tell them frightful Stories of Purgatory, and did aggravate the Heinousness of Sacrilege, they would easily be wrought upon to take care of themselves in the next World, and leave their Children to their Shifts in this.

But I go now to give you some account of the Papers that accompany this Letter.

The first is the Breve that contains the Powers that were given to Cardinal *Pool*, besides those general Powers or Bulls that were given him as Legate. This bears date the 8th of March, 1554, and

and so probably it was an Enlargement of the Powers that were, as it is likely, granted him at his first dispatch from *Rome*; and therefore these carry in them, very probably, more Grace and Favour than was intended or allowed of at first: For *Pool* had left *Rome* the *November* before this, and no doubt he carried some Powers with him; but upon the Remonstrances that were made by the Emperor, as well as from *England*, it seems those were procured that I now send you.

The most uneasy part of this whole Matter, was that which related to the Church-Lands; for it is delivered in the Canon-Law, That the Pope cannot alienate Lands belonging to the Church, in any manner, or for any necessity whatsoever. And by that same Canon which was decreed by Pope *Symmachus*, and a Roman Synod, about the Year 500; The Giver and Seller of Church-Lands, as well as the Possessor, is to be degraded and anathematized; and any Church-Man whatsoever may oppose such Alienations, and these notwithstanding may recover the Lands so alienated.

Caus. 12.

q. 2. cap. 20.

Non liceat

Papa pradi-

um Ecclesie

alienare ali-

quo modo, pro

aliqua neces-

sitate, nec in

usum fru-

ctum rura-

rum, nisi

tantummodo

domus que in quibuscumque urbibus, non modica impensa sustentantur: qua lege omnes custodes astringuntur, ut donator, auctor, venditor, honorem perdat; & qui subscripserit anathema sit, cum eo qui dedit, vel recepit, nisi restituatur. Liceat etiam quibuscumque ecclesiasticis personis contradicere, & cum fructibus alienata repossidere, quod non modo in Apostolica servandum est Ecclesia, verum etiam universis Ecclesiis per provincias quidem dicitur convenire.

The

The Pope according to this Decree could not confirm the Alienations that had been made by King *Henry*; and if he did confirm them, the Act must be null in Law, and could be no prejudice to the present Incumbent, or his Successor, to claim his Right. Therefore pursuant to this, the Powers given to *Pool*, authorize him only to indemnify and discharge the Possessors of the Church-Lands, for the Goods that they had embezzelled, and for the Rents that they had received; for it runs in these Words, (which I have mark'd in the *Breve* it self, that you may readily turn to it) *And to agree and transact with the Possessors of the Goods of the Church, for the Rents which they have unlawfully received, and for the moveable Goods which they have consumed; and for freeing and discharging them for them, they restoring first (if that shall seem expedient to you) the Lands themselves, that are unduly detained by them.* By these Powers it is plain, that the Pope only forgave what was past, but stood to the Right of the Church, as to the restitution of the Lands themselves: And that Clause (if that shall seem to you expedient) belongs only to the Order and Point of Time, so that the discharging what was past, might have been done by Cardinal *Pool*, before or after *Restitution*, as he pleased: But *Restitution* was still to be made; and

and he had by these Powers no Authority to confirm the Alienations that had been made by King *Henry the 8th* for the time to come.

But these Limitations were so distasteful, both in *England* and at the Emperor's Court, that *Pool* found it necessary to send his Secretary *Ormanet* to *Rome*, for new Instructions and fuller Powers: He addressed him to Cardinal *de Monte* for procuring them. *Ormanet* was dispatch'd from *Rome* in the end of *June*, 1554, and came to *Pool* in the end of *July*, as appears by the Date of *Pool's* Letters to the Cardinal *de Monte*, which is the 29th of *July*, upon the receipt of the two Breves that *Ormanet* brought him, bearing date the 26th and 28th of *June*.

The first of these is only matter of Form, empowering him to act as a Legate, either about the Emperor or the King of *France*, in as ample manner as former Legates had done. The second relates almost wholly to the Business of Abbey-Lands; in it the Pope sets forth, *That whereas he had formerly empowered him to transact with the Possessors of Church-lands, and to discharge them for the Rents unjustly received, or the moveable Goods that were consumed by them; yet since the perfecting of the Reduction of England would become so much the easier, as the Pope gave the greater hopes of Gentleness and*
Favour

Favour in that matter, he therefore not being willing to let any worldly Respects lie in the way of so great a Work, as was the Recovery of so many Souls, and in imitation of the tender-hearted Father, that went out to meet the Prodigal Child, empowers the Cardinal, according to the Trust and Confidence that he had in him, to transact and agree with such of the Possessors of them, by the Pope's Authority, for whom the Queen should intercede, and to dispense with them for enjoying them in all time coming. But the Salvo that comes in the end, seems to take all this off; For he reserves all to the Pope's Confirmation and good pleasure, in all those things that were of such importance, that the Holy See ought first to be consulted by Pool.

By these Powers, all that Pool could do was only provisional, and could not bind the Pope; so that he might disclaim and disown him when he pleased: And the Agreements that he made afterwards with the Parliament, were of no force, till they were confirmed by the Pope. And as the Pope that succeeded *Julius the Third*, who granted these Breves, (but died before the Execution of them was brought to him for his Confirmation) would never confirm them; so this whole Transaction was a publick Cheat put on the Nation, or at least on the Possessors of the Abbey-Lands; nor did it grant them either a good

Title in Law, (I mean the Canon-Law) or give any Security to their Consciences, in enjoying that which according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* is plain *Sacrilege*.

And therefore I cannot imagine how those of that Church can quiet their Consciences in the possession of those Lands. It is plain by the progress of this matter, that the Court of *Rome* never intended to confirm the Abbey-Lands; for all that was done by *Pool*, was only an Artifice to still Mens Fears, and to lay the Clamour, which the Apprehension of the return of Popery was raising, that so it might once enter with the less opposition; and then it could be easy to carry all lesser Matters, when the great Point was once gained, as the Saddle goes into the Bargain for the Horse. And indeed tho a poor Heretick may hope for Mercy, notwithstanding his Abbey-lands, because it may be supposed to be a Sin of Ignorance in him, so that he possesses them with a good Conscience, and is that which the Law calls *bonæ Fidei Possessor*; yet I see no Remedy for such as go over to the Church of *Rome*: for if there is a Sin in the World that is condemned by that Church, it is *Sacrilege*; so that they must be *malæ Fidei Possessores*, that continue in it, after the enlightning which that Church offers them.

A Man may as well be a Papist, and not believe Transubstantiation, nor worship the Host; as be one, and still enjoy his Church-Lands. Nor can any Confessor, that understands the principles of his own Religion, give Absolution to such as are involved in that Guilt, without restitution: So that it is a vain thing to talk of securing Men in the possession of those Lands, if *Papery* should ever prevail: For tho the Court of *Rome* would, to facilitate our Reconciliation, offer some deceitful Confirmation, as was done by Cardinal *Pool*; yet no Man, after he went over to that *Church*, could suffer himself to enjoy them: Every Fit of Sickness, or cross Accident, would, by the Priests Rhetorick, look like the beginning of the Curse that fell on *Ananias* and *Saphira*. The terrible Imprecations that are in the Endowments of Monasteries, would be always tinging in his Ears; and if Absolution were denied, especially in the hour of Death, what haste would the poor Man make to get rid of that Weight which must sink him into Hell: For as he must not hope for such good Quarters as Purgatory, so if he happened to go thither, he would be so scurvily used by the poor Souls, which have been kept frying there for want of the Masses which would have been said for them in the Abbey-Church, if

he had not with-held the Rents, that he would find so little difference between that and Hell, that even there he might be tempted to turn Protestant again, and believe that Purgatory was no better than Hell. If any will object, that at least Cardinal *Pool's* Settlement secures them till it is annulled at *Rome*: To this, as these *Papers* will offer an Answer, since his Settlement was to have no force, till it was confirmed by the Apostolick See, which was never yet done: So if our English *Papists* go into the Opinion that is now generally received and asserted in *France*, That the *Pope's* power is limited by the *Canons*, and subject to the *Church*; then the Confirmation given by Cardinal *Pool*, is null of it self, tho it had been granted exactly according to the Letter of his Instructions: Since there has been in several Ages of the *Church*, so vast a number of *Canons*, made against the Alienations of *Church-Lands*, that if they were all laid together, they would make a big Book: For in the Ages of Superstition, as the *Church-men* were mightily set on enriching the *Church*; so they made sure Work, and took special care that nothing should be torn from it, that was once consecrated.

But I return from this Digression, to give you some account of the other Letters that are in my
 Regi-

Register. There is a Letter of Cardinal Morone's to Pool, of the 13th of July, sent also by Ormanet in which he tells him, That tho the Emperor had writ very extravagantly of him to the Pope, yet the Pope said, he was sure there was no just occasion given for it: And whereas the Emperor preſt that Pool might be recalled, the Pope continued firm in his reſolution, not to conſent to ſo diſhonourable a thing. He adds, That the Pope was not yet determined in the Buſineſs of the Church-lands, but had ſpoken very often very variously concerning that matter. After this there follows another Breve of the 10th of July, by which the Pope, upon the conſideration of the Prince of Spain's being married to the Queen of England, enlarges Pool's Powers, and authorizes him, as his Legate, to treat with him: but this is meerly a point of Form.

*Termini coſi eſtravagan-
ti.
Com' auco non ſi reſol-
veva nella
materia della
beni eccleſi-
aſtica ſupra
laqual ſua
ſantita ha
parlato molte
volte varia-
mente.*

Pool ſent Ormanet, with an account of this Diſpatch that he had received from Rome, to the Biſhop of Arras, to be preſented by him to the Emperor: All the Answer that he could procure, as appears by Ormanet's Letter, was, That the Emperor had no News from England ſince his Son's Marriage: but that he would ſend an Expres there, to know the State of Affairs there; which he thought muſt be done firſt, before the Legate could go over. And of this the Biſhop of Arras writ

writ to *Pool*, three days after *Ormanet* came to him, his Letter bears date from *Bouchain*, the 3d of *August*, 1554.

By *Ormanet*'s Letter it appears, that these last Powers gave the Emperor full satisfaction, and were not at all excepted against; only *Granvell* made some difficulty in one Point, * Whether the Settlement of the Church-Lands should be granted as a Grace of the Pope's, by the Cardinal's hands, immediately to the possessors? or should be granted to *Philip* and *Mary*, and by their means to the possessors? For it seems it was thought a surer way to engage the Crown to maintain what was done, if the Pope were engaged for it to the Crown, with which he would not venture so easily to break, as he might perhaps do with the possessors themselves. But *Ormanet* gave him full satisfaction in that matter; for the manner of settling it being referred wholly to the Cardinal by his powers, he promised that he would order it in the way that should give the Nation most content.

The Emperor's Delays became very uneasy to Cardinal *Pool*, upon which he wrote to *Soto*, that was the Emperor's Confessor, the 12th of *August*, and desired to speak with him. By the place from whence the Cardinal dates most of these Letters, it appears he was then in a Monastery called *Diligam*,

* *Esso gindi
cavancessa-
rio, che si
fosse venuto
piu all parti-
colare, circa
due cose: la
forma delle
faculta di
intorno questi
beni: che
gran differen-
za sarebbe se
fosse stata
commessa la
cosa all Sig.
Cardinale, o
alli serenissi-
mi Princip.*

gam, near *Brussels*. I will not determine whether it may not be a Mistake that passes so generally, that no wonder you have gone into it, that he was stopt at *Dilling*, a Town upon the *Danube*, by the Emperor's Orders, which might have been founded on his being lodged in this Monastery; for as he dates some of his Letters from *Diligam*, and others from *Brussels*, so he dates one from *Diligam-Abbey*, near *Brussels*: but this is not of any great importance.

After some Letters of no great consequence, there comes a long one writ by *Pool* to the Pope, bearing date from *Brussels*, *Octob. 13. 1554.* which I send you. In it *Pool* gives him an account of the first Conference that he had with the Emperor on this Subject. He told the Emperor, That tho as to Matters of Faith the Pope could slacken nothing, nor shew any manner of Indulgence; yet in the Matter of the *Church-Lands*, in which the Pope was more at liberty, he was resolved to be gentle and indulgent: And as to all the Pains and Censures that the possessors had incurred, and the Rents that they enjoyed, which were points of great importance, he was resolved to use all sort of Indulgence towards them, and to forgive all: Nor had he any design of applying any part of these Goods, either to himself, or to the Aposto-
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lick See, of which some were afraid ; tho he might pretend good reason for it, considering the Losses that that See had sustained by reason of the Schism ; but he would give up all that to the Service of God, and the Good of the Kingdom. And such regard had the Pope to the King and Queen of *England*, that he was resolved to grant upon their Intercession, whatsoever should be thought convenient, to such Persons as they should think worth gratifying, or were capable to assist in the Design of settling the Religion. To all this the Emperor answered with a new delay: He was expecting to hear very suddenly from *England* ; and it was necessary to have that Difficulty concerning the Church-Lands first cleared, which by his own Experience in *Germany* he concluded to be the chief Obstacle: For as to the Doctrine, he did not believe they stuck at that ; and he thought that they believed neither the one nor the other Persuasion, and therefore they would not be much concerned in such points: Yet since these Goods were dedicated to God, it was not fit to grant every thing to those that held them ; and therefore tho *Pool* had told him how far his Powers extended, yet it was not fit that it should be generally known. But as the Emperor was putting in new Delays, *Pool* prest him vehemently, that the Mat-

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ter might at last be brought to a Conclusion. The Emperor told him, that great regard must be had to the ill Dispositions of the Parties concerned, since the Aversion that the English Nation had to the very name of *Obedience to the Church*, or to a *Red Hat*, or a *Religious Habit*, was so universal, that his Son had been advised to make the Friars that came over from *Spain* with him, change their Habits : but tho he had done it, yet the danger of Tumults deserved to be well considered. *Pool* replied, That if he must stay till all Impediments were removed, he must never go. Those that were concerned in the Abby-Lands, would still endeavour to obstruct his coming, since by that means, they still continued in Possession of all that they had got. In conclusion, it was resolved that *Pool* should stay for the return of the Messenger, that the Emperor had sent to *England*.

Two things appear from this Letter ; one is, that Cardinal *Pool* intended only to grant a general Discharge to all the Possessors of the Abby-Lands, for what was past ; but resolved to give no Grants of them for the future, except only to such as should merit it, and for whom the Queen should intercede, and whose Zeal in the matter of Religion might deserve such a Favour ; and it seems that even the Emperor intended no more

and that he thought that this should be kept a great Secret. The other is, that the Aversion of the Nation to Popery was at that time very high, so that Tumults were much apprehended: yet the whole Work was brought to a final Conclusion within two Months, without any Opposition, or the least Tumult: so inconsiderable are popular Discontents, in Opposition to a Government well established, and supported by strong Alliances.

Pool being wearied out with these continued Delays, of which he saw no end, writ a long and high-flown, or according to the stile of this Age, a canting Letter to *Philip*, then King of *England*: I send it likewise to you, because you may perhaps desire to see every thing of *Pool's* writing, for whose Memory you have expressed a very particular esteem: he tells the King that he had been knocking at the Gates of that Court now a Year, tho he was banished his Country, because he would not consent, that she who now dwelt in it should be shut out of it; but in his Person it was *S. Peter's* Successor, or rather *S. Peter* himself, that knock'd; and so he runs out in a long and laboured Allegory, taken from *S. Peter's* being delivered out of Prison, in the *Herodian* Persecution; and coming to *Mary's* Gate, where after

after his Voice was known, yet he was held long knocking; tho *Mary* was not sure that it was he himself, &c. Upon all which he runs division, like a Man that had practised Eloquence long, and had allowed himself to fly high with forced Rhetorick. And to say the truth, this way of enlarging upon an Allegory from some part of Scripture-story, had been so long used, and was so early practised, that I do not wonder much to see him dress this out with such pomp, and so many words. I shall be very glad if these Papers give you any considerable light in those matters; in which you have laboured so successfully: I am very sincerely,

Sir,

Your most Humble

Servant,

W. C.

(9 !)

I have been thinking of you very much lately, and
 wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are
 well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but
 I have managed to find some time to write to you.
 I have been thinking of you very much lately, and
 wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are
 well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but
 I have managed to find some time to write to you.

5/14/71 Sun 40°C

D.W.

*Cardinal POOL'S general Powers
for reconciling ENGLAND to the
Church of ROME.*

JULIUS PAPA III.

Dilecte Fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem: dudum, cum carissima in Christo Filia nostra Maria, Angliæ tunc Princeps Regina declarata fuisset, & speraretur Regnum Angliæ, quod sæva Regnum Tyrannide ab unione Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ separatum fuerat, ad ovile gregis Domini & ejusdem Ecclesiæ unionem, ipsa Maria primum regnante, redire posse. Nos te, præstanti Virtute, singulari Pietate, ac multa Doctrina insignem, ad eandem Mariam Reginam & universum Angliæ Regnum, de Fratrum nostrorum Consilio & unanimi consensu nostrum & Apostolicæ sedis legatum de latere destinavimus: tibi que inter cætera, omnes & singulos utriusque sexus, tam Laicæ quam Ecclesiasticæ, seculares & quorumvis ordinum reglæres, personas, in quibusvis etiam sacris ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque Status, Gradus, Conditionis & Qualitatis existerint ac quacunque Ecclesiastica, etiam Episcopali, Archiepiscopali, & Patriarchali; aut mundana, etiam Marchionali, Ducali; aut Regia dignitate præfulgerent, etiam si Capitulum, Collegium, Universitas, seu Communitas forent, quarumcunque herefium, aut novarum Sectarum, Professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores,

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& fautores eorum, etiam si relapse fuissent, eorum errorem cognoscentes, & de illis dolentes, ac ad Orthodoxam fidem recipi humiliter postulantes, cognita in eis, vera & non ficta, aut simulata, penitentia, ab omnibus & singulis per eos perpetratis, (hæreses, & ab eadem fide Apostasias, Blasphemias, & alios quosunque errores, etiam sub generali sermone non venientes sapientibus) peccatis, criminibus, excessibus, & delictis, nec non Excommunicationum, Suspensionum, Interdictorum, & aliis Ecclesiasticis, ac Temporalibus etiam Corporis afflictivis, & capitalibus Sententiis, censuris & penis in eos premissorum occasione, a jure vel ab homine latis, vel promulgatis, etiam si in iis viginti, & plus annis inforduissent, & eorum absolutio nobis & divinæ sedī, & per literas in die Cane Domini legi consuetas, reservata existeret, in utroque, Conscientiæ videlicet, & contentioso foro, plenare absolvendi, & liberandi, ac aliorum Christi fidelium consortio aggregandi : nec non cum eis super irregularitate per eos premissorum occasione, etiam quia sic Ligati, missas & alia divina officia, etiam contra Ritus & Cere monias ab Ecclesia eatenus probatas, & usitatas, celebrassent, aut illis alias se miscuissent, contracta ; nec non bigama per eosdem Ecclesiasticos, Seculares, vel Regulares, vere aut fictæ, seu alias qualitercunque incurfa, (etiam si ex eo quod Clerici in sacris constituti, cum viduis vel aliis corruptis, Matrimonium contraxissent pretendetur) rejectis & expulsis tamen prius uxoribus, sic de facto copulatis : quodque bigamia & irregularitate ac aliis premissis non obstantibus, in eorum ordinibus, dummodo ante eorum lapsum in heresin hujusmodi, rite & legitime promoti vel ordinati fuissent, etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque & qualitercunque etiam curata beneficia, secularia vel regularia ut prius, dummodo super eis alteri

alteri jus quaesitum non existeret, retinere: & non promoti, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Presbyteratus Ordines, ab eorum ordinariis, si digni & idonei reperti fuissent, promoveri, ac beneficia Ecclesiastica, si iis alias canonice conferantur, recipere & retinere valerent, dispensandi & indulgenti: ac omnem infamiam & inhabilitatis maculam siue notam, ex praemissis quomodolibet insurgentem, penitus & omnino abolendi; nec non ad pristinos honores, dignitates, famam, & patriam, & bona etiam confiscata, in pristinumque, & eum, in quo ante praemissa quomodolibet erant, statum restituendi, reponendi, & reintegrandi: ac eis, dummodo corde contriti, eorum errata & excessus alicui per eos eligendo Catholico confessori, sacramentaliter confiterentur, ac penitentiam salutarem, eis per ipsum confessorem propterea injungendam omnino adimplerent, omnem publicam confessionem, abjuracionem, renunciationem, & penitentiam jure debitam, arbitrio suo moderandi vel in totum remittendi. Nec non Communitates & Universitates, ac singulares personas quascunque, a quibusvis illicitis pactionibus & Conventionibus, per eos cum Dominis aberrantibus, seu in eorum favorem, quomodolibet initis, & iis praestitis juramentis, & homagiis, illorumque omnium observatione, & si quem eatenus occasione eorum incurrissent perjurii reatum, in etiam absolvendi, & juramenta ipsa relaxandi. Ac quoscunque regulares & religiosos, etiam in haeresin hujusmodi ut praefertur lapsos, extra eorum regularia loca absque dictae sedis licentia vagantes, ab Apostasia reatu, & Excommunicationis aliisque censuris ac poenis Ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea etiam juxta suorum ordinum instituta incurfis, pariter absolvendi: ac cum eis ut alicui beneficio Ecclesiastico curato, de illud obtinentis consensu, etiam in habitu Clerici Secularis, habitum suum regularem sub honesta

nesta toga Presbyteri Secularis deferendo, deservire, & extra eadem regularia loca remanere libere & licite possint dispensandi. Nec non quibuscumque personis, etiam Ecclesiasticis, ut quadragesimalibus & aliis anni temporibus & diebus, quibus usus ovorum & carniū est de jure prohibitus, butiro & caseo & aliis lacticiis, ac dictis ovibus & carniibus, de utriusque seu alterius, spiritualis, qui Catholicus existeret, Medici Consilio, aut si locorum & personarum qualitate inspecta, ex defectu Piscium aut olei, vel indispositione Personarum earundem, seu alia causa legitima id tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbitrio uti & vesci possint, indulgendi & concedendi. Nec non per te in præteritis duntaxat casibus, aliquos Clericos Seculares, tantum Presbyteros, Diaconos, aut Subdiaconos, qui Matrimonium cum aliquibus Virginibus, vel corruptis Secularibus, etiam Mulieribus, de facto eatenus contraxissent, considerata aliqua ipsorum singulari qualitate, & cognita eorum vera ad Christi fidem conversione, ac aliis circumstantiis, ac modificationibus tuo tantum arbitrio adhibendis, ex quibus aliis præsertim Clericis in Sacris Ordinibus hujusmodi constitutis, quibus non licet Uxores habere, Scandalum omnino non generetur, citra tamen altaris ac alia Sacerdotum ministeria, & titulos beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, ac omni ipsorum ordinum exercitio sublato, ab Excommunicationis sententia, & aliis reatibus propterea incurfis, injuncta inde eis etiam tuo arbitrio penitentia salutari, absolvendi ac cum eis dummodo alter eorum superstes remaneret, de cætero sine spe conjugii, quod inter se Matrimonium legitime contrahere, & in eo postquam contractum foret, licite remanere possent, prolem exinde legitimam decernendo, miserecorditer dispensandi: ac quæcunque beneficia Ecclesiastica, tam secularia quam regularia, & quæ per Rectores

Rectores Catholicos possidebantur, de ipsorum tamen Rectorum Catholicorum consensu, seu absque eorum prejudicio, cuicumque alteri Beneficio Ecclesiastico ob ejus fructuos tenuitatem, aut Hospitali jam erecto vel erigendo, seu studio Universalis vel Scholis Literariis, uniendi, annectendi, & incorporandi, aut fructus, redditus, & proventus, seu bonorundem beneficiorum dividendi, separandi, & dismembrandi, ac eorum sic divisorum, separatorum & dismembratorum partem aliis beneficiis seu Hospitalibus, vel Studiis aut Scholis, seu piis usibus similiter arbitrio tuo perpetuo applicandi & appropriandi. *Ac cum Posterioribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum (restitutis, prius si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebite detentis) super fructibus male perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordandi, & transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi & quietandi:* ac quicquid concordiis & transactionibus hujusmodi proveniret, in Ecclesia cujus essent bona, vel in Studiorum Universalium, aut Scholarum hujusmodi, seu alios pios usus convertendi, omniaque & singula alia, in quæ in premissis & circa ea quomodolibet necessaria & opportuna esse cognosceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, & exercendi: nec non Catholicos locorum ordinarios, aut alias Personas Deum timentes, fide insignes, & literarum scientia præditas, ac gravitate morum conspicuas, & ætate veneranda, de quarum probitate & circumspectione ac charitatis Zelo plena Fiducia conspici posset, ad premissa omnia, cum simili vel limitata potestate (absolutione & dispensatione Clericorum circa connubia, ac unione beneficiorum, seu eorum fructuum & bonorum separatione, & applicatione, ac concordia cum possessoribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum & eorum liberatorum, duntaxat exceptis) substituendi & subdelegandi: ac diversas alias facultates per diversas alias nostras tam sub plumbo quam in

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forma

forma Brevis confectas literas, concessimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. Verum cum tu ad partes Flandriæ ex quibus brevissima ad Regnum transfretatio existit, te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus nobis notis causis inibi aliquandiu subsistere habeas, ac a nonnullis, nimium forsan scrupulosis, hesitetur, an tu in partibus hujusmodi subsistens, predictis ac aliis tibi concessis facultatibus uti ac in eodem Regno locorum ordinarios, aut alias Personas ut premittitur qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te juxta dictarum literarum continentiam pro tempore concessis utantur, alias juxta earundem literarum tenorem substituere & delegare possis: Nos causam tuæ subsistentiæ in eisdem partibus approbantes, & singularum literarum prædictarum tenores, præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis, habentes, circumspeditioni tuæ quod quamdiu in eisdem partibus de licentia nostra morum traxeris, Legatione tua prædicta durante, etiam extra ipsum Regnum existens, omnibus & singulis prædictis & quibusvis aliis tibi concessis & quæ per præsentem tibi conceduntur, facultatibus, etiam erga quoscunque, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, ac Abbates, aliosque, Ecclesiarum tam secularium quam quorumvis ordinum regularium, nec non Monasteriorum & aliorum regularium locorum Prelatos, non secus ac erga alios inferiores Clericos, uti possis, necnon erga alias Personas in singulis Literis prædictis quovis modo nominatas, ad te pro tempore recurrentes vel mittentes, etiam circa ordines, quos nunquam aut male susceperunt, & munus consecrationis quod iis ob aliis Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis etiam Hæreticis & Schismaticis, aut alias minus rite & non servata forma Ecclesiæ consueta impensum fuit, etiam si ordines & munus hujusmodi etiam circa altaris ministerium temere executi sint, per te ipsum vel alios, ad id a te
pro

pro tempore deputatos, libere uti, ac in eodem Regno tot quot tibi videbuntur locorum ordinarios vel alias Personas, ut premittitur qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te, eis pro tempore concessis, (citra tamen eas quæ solum tibi ut præfertur concessæ existunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ huiusmodi subsistente, libere utantur ; & eas exerceant & exequantur alias, juxta ipsarum Literarum continentiam ac tenorem substituere & subdelegare. Nec non de Personis quorumcunque Episcoporum vel Archiepiscoporum, qui Metropolitanam aut alias Cathedralis Ecclesias de manu Laicorum etiam Schismaticorum, & præsertim qui de Henrici Regis & Edvardi ejus Nati receperunt, & eorum regimini & administratione se ingesserunt, & eorum fructus redditus & proventus etiam longissimo tempore, tanquam veri Archiepiscopi aut Episcopi temere & de facto usurpando, etiam si in hæresin ut præfertur, inciderint, seu antea hæretici fuerint, postquam per te unitati sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ restituti existiterint, tuque eos rehabilitandos esse censueris, si tibi alias digni & idonei videbuntur, eisdem Metropolitanis & aliis Cathedralibus Ecclesiis denuo, nec non quibuscumque aliis Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis per obitum vel privationem illarum Præfulum, seu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de Personis idoneis pro quibus ipsa Maria Regina juxta consuetudines ipsius Regni, tibi supplicaverit autoritate nostra providere ipsasque Personas eisdem Ecclesiis in Episcopos aut Archiepiscopos præficere : Ac cum iis qui Ecclesias Cathedralis & Metropolitanas, de manu Laicorum etiam Schismaticorum ut præfertur, receperunt, quod eisdem seu aliis ad quas eas alias rite transferri contigerit, Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis, in Episcopos vel Archiepiscopos præesse ipsasque Ecclesias in spiritualibus & tem-

poralibus regere & gubernare, ac munere consecrationis eis hactenus impenso uti, vel si illud eis nondum impensum extiterit, ab Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis Catholicis per te nominandis suscipere libere & licite possint. Nec non cum quibusvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore absolutis & rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus & excessibus preteritis non obstantibus, quibusvis Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis in Episcopos & Archiepiscopos prefici & præesse, illasque in eisdem spiritualibus & temporalibus regere & gubernare: ac ad quoscunque etiam Sacros & Presbyteratos Ordines promovere, & in illis aut per eos jam licet minus rite susceptis ordinibus etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare nec non munus consecrationis suscipere, & illo uti libere & licite valeant; dispensare etiam libere & licite possis, plenam & liberam Apostolicam Autoritatem per presentes concedimus facultatem & potestatem: non obstantibus Constitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ac omnibus illis quæ in singulis literis præteritis volumus non obstare, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

*Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo
Piscatoris, die 8. Martii 1554. Pontificatus nostri
anno Quinto.*

*A second Breve containg more special
Powers relating to the Abby-Lands.*

JULIUS PP. III.

Dilecte fili noster Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus oblata nobis spe per Dei Misericordiam, & charissimæ in Christo Filiae nostræ Mariæ Angliæ Reginae, summam Religionem, & Pietatem, nobilissimi illius Angliæ Regni, quod jamdiu quorundem Impietate, a reliquo Catholica Ecclesiæ corpore avulsum fuit, ad ejusdem Catholicæ & Universalis Ecclesiæ unionem, extra quam nemini salus esse potest, reducendi; Te ad præfatam Mariam Reginam, atque universum illud Regnum, nostrum & Apostolicæ sedis Legatum de latere, tanquam Pacis & Concordiæ Angelum, de venerabilum Fratrum nostrorum, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalum Consilio atque unanimi assensu, destinavimus, illisque facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti negotii confectionem necessarias putavimus esse, seu quommodolibet opportunas. Atque inter alia circumspectioni tuæ, ut cum bonorum Ecclesiasticorum possessoribus, super fructibus male perceptis, & bonis mobilibus consumptis concordare & transigere, ac eos desuper liberare, & quietare, ubi expedire posset, Auctoritatem concessimus & facultatem, prout in nostris desuper confectis Literis plenius continetur: Cum autem ex iis Principiis, quæ ejusdem Mariæ sedulitate & diligentia, rectaque & constante in Deum Mente, tuo & in ea re cooperante studio atque Consilio præfatum reductionis

onis opus in prædicto Regno usque ad hanc diem habet ejusdemque præclari operis perfectio indies magis speretur ; eoque faciliores progressus habitura res esse dignoscatur, quo nos majorem in bonorum Ecclesiasticorum possessionibus in illa superiorum temporum confusione, per illius Provinciæ homines occupatis, Apostolicæ benignitatis & Indulgentiæ spem ostenderimus. Nos nolentes tantam dilectissimæ nobis in Christo Nationis recuperationem, & tot animarum pretioso Jesu Christi Domini nostri sanguini redemptarum, salutem, ullis terrenarum rerum respectibus impediri, more Pii Patris, in nostrorum & Sanctæ Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Filiorum, post longum periculosa peregrinationis tempus, ad nos respectantium & redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes ; tibi de cujus præstanti Virtute, singulari Pietate, Doctrina, Sapientia ac in rebus gerendis Prudentia, & dexteritate, plenam in Domino Fiduciam habemus, cum quibuscunque bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, tam mobilium, quam immobilium, in præfato Regno possessoribus, seu detentoribus, pro quibus ipsa serenissima Regina Maria intercesserit, de bonis per eos indebite detentis, arbitrio tuo, Autoritate nostra, tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, & cum eis ut præfata bona sine ullo scrupulo in posterum retinere possint, dispensandi, omniaque & singula alia, quæ in his, & circa ea quommodolibet necessaria & opportuna fuerint, concludendi & faciendi : *Salvo tamen in his, in quibus propter rerum magnitudinem & gravitatem, hæc sancta Sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro & præfata Sedis beneplacito & confirmatione,* plenam & liberam Apostolicam Autoritate tenore præsentium & ex certa scientia concedimus facultatem. Non obstantibus literis, felicitis recordationis Pauli P. P. II. prædecessoris nostri, de non alienandis bonis Ecclesiasticis, nisi certa forma servata, & aliis quibuscvis Apostolicis ac in Provincialibus

& Syndodalibus Conciliis Edictis generalibus vel specialibus Constitutionibus, & Ordinationibus: nec non quarumvis Ecclesiarum & Monasteriorum ac aliorum regularium, & piorum locorum, juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis alia firmitate roboratis, foundationibus, Statutis & Consuetudinibus, illorum tenores pro sufficienter expressis habentes contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris die xxviii Junii 1554. Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

A Letter of Cardinal Pool's to the Pope, giving an account of a Conference that he had with Charles the 5th, concerning the Church-Lands.

Beatissime Pater,

E Molto tempo che non havendo cosa d'importanza non ho scritto a V. Santità per non molestarla facendole col mezo del mio Agente intendere tutto quello che occorreva; e benche hora io non habbia da dirle quanto desiderarei, nondimeno mi e parso conveniente scriverle, e darle conto del raggiamento prima havuta con Monsieur d'Arras & poi di quel che ho negoziato con sua Majesta. Mons. d' Arras alli ix che fu il giorno istesso che sua Majesta torno, essendomi venuto a visitare, trovandosi all hora meco Mons. il Nuncio, mi disse, che Sua Majesta havea ueduta la lettera che io mandai ultimamente per l'auditor mio, e che ella era benissimo disposta verso questo negotio della Religione in Inghilterra come si conveniva, e si poteva credere per la sua Pietate,

Pietate, & anche per l'interesse, che ne seguieria de quel Regno & de questi Paesi per la congiunzione che e tra loro. Si che quanto a questa parte di disponer sua Maestà non accader far altro. Ma che era ben necessario, che io venissi a particolari, & a trattar de gli impedimenti, e della via di rimoverli: sopra che sua Maestà mi udiria molto volentieri, Jo risposi che veramente non era da dubitare del buono, e pronto animo di sua Maestà, e che io ni era stato sempre persuasissimo. Ma che quanto pertineva all' officio mio per esser io stato mandato da V. Santità per far intender l'ottima sua mente ver-to la salute di quello Regno, e la prontezza di porgere tutti quei remedii che dall' autorità sua potesser venire; a me non toccava far altro, che procurar d'haver l'adito: E che ad esse Principi, quali sono sul fatto, & hanno il governo in mano, le apparteneva, far intendere gli impedimenti, che fussero in contario: e tornando pur esso Monsieur d'Arras che bisognava che io descendessi alli particolari, io replicai che in questa causa non conveniva in modo alcuno che si procedesse come si era fatto in quella della pace nella quale ciascuna delle parti stava sopra di se non volendosi scoprire, ma solo cercando di scoprirne, l'altra, per rispetto de gli interesse particolari; perciò che questa e una causa commune e nella quale V. Santità e sua Maestà Cesarea, & quei Principi hanno il medesimo fine, & noi ancora come ministri. Confermo cio esser vero quanto al tratar della pace, con dire in effetto in tratar del negozio della pace io mi armo tutto. Ma pur tuttavia tornava a dire, che io douessi pensare e raggiornar in particolare, con sua Maestà di quest' impedimenti. e Mons. il Nuncio al hora voltatosi a me disse, che in effetto era bisogno venire a questi particolari: e così al fine restammo che ogniuno ci pensasse sopra.

Alli xi poi nell andar da S. Maesta Monsieur d'Arras torna a replicarmi il medesimo; nell audientia di S. Maesta nella quale si trovo presente Mons. il Nuncio, e Monsieur d'Arras, poiche mi fui ralegrato con sua Maesta che havendo liberato questi suoi paesi dalle molestie delle guerre, doppo tanti travagli, e d'animo e di corpo fusse tornato piu gagliarda e meglio disposta che quando si parti, in che li videva che il Signior Iddio haveva preservata & preservava a maggior cose in honor di S. Divina Maesta a beneficio commune. Sua Maesta confermo senterfi assai bene, e disse dele indispositione che haveva havuta in Arras e altre cose in simil proposito: entrai poi a dire della lettera che io haveva scritta a S. Maesta della risposta che Monsieur d'Arras mi haveva fatta, che era stata di rimetterfi al breve. Retorno di sua Maesta qui, e dissi che se havessi a trattar questo negotio con altro Principe, della Pieta del quale non fussi tanto persuaso, quanto io sono certo di quella di sua Maesta, dimostrata da lei con tanto segni, e nella vita sua privata e nell attioni publiche, cercaci de essortarlo per tante vie quante si potria ad abbracciar e favorir questa cosi sancta causa: Ma che non essendo bisogno fare questo con S. Maesta, e tanto piu per esser in questa causa con honore d'Iddio, congiunto anco il beneficio di S. Maesta et del Serenissimo Re suo figliuolo, solo aspettava da lei ogni ajuto per remover gli impedimenti, che fussero in questo negotio, i quali per quanto io poteva considerere sono di duo sorti: Uno pertinente alla Doctrina Catollica, nella quale non poteva esser in alcun modo indulgente, per esser cosa pertinente alla fide ne poteva sanaraltrimente questo male, che con introdure de nuovo la buona Doctrina. l'altro impedimento essendo de i beni, gli usurpatori di quali, sapendo la severita delle leggi Ecclesiastiche, temevano per questa causa di ritornar all Obedienza della chiesa,

E

desse

disse che in questa parte V. Santità poteva, et era disposta ad usur la sua benignità et indulgenza: e primo quanto alle censure e pene incorse et alla restituzione de frutti percetti, che era di grand' importanza, V. Santità haveva animo nell'una nell'altra di questo due cose d'usar ogni indulgenza, rimittendo liberamente il tutto: ne pensava d'applicar parte alcuna de detti beni a se, ne alla sede Apostolica, come multi temevano: benché di ragione lo potesse fare, per le ingiurie et danni ricevuti: ma che voleva convertir il tutto in servizio d'Iddio et a beneficio del Regno senza haver pur una minima considerazione del suo privato interesse: et confidandosi nella Pietà di quei Principi, voleva far loro quest' honore di far per mezzo del suo legato, quelle gratie che paressero convenienti secondo la proposta et intercessione delle loro Maestà, a quelle persone che esse giudicassero degne d'essere gratificate, et atte ad ajutar la causa della Religione. Sua Maestà rispondendo ringratio prima molto V. Santità mostrando di conoscere la sua bona Mente, et con dire, che ella in vero haveva fatto assai: poi disse che per gli impedimenti et occupationi della guerra, non haveva potuto attendere a questo negozio come saria stato il suo desiderio: ma che hora gli attenderia: et che haveva già scritto e mandato in Inghilterra, per intender meglio in questa parte il stato delle cose, et aspettava in breve risposta: et che bisognava ben considerare s'indoue si potesse andare nel rimover questo impedimento d'beni; il quali esso per l'esperienza che haveva havuto in Germania, conosceva esser il principale. Perchioche quanto alla Dottrina, disse, che poco se ne curavano questo tali, non credendo ne all'una ne all'altra via: disse anche che essendo stati questi beni dedicati a Dio, non era da concedere così ogni cosa, a quelli che li tenevano: e che se bene a lei io diceffi s'indoue s'estendesse la mia facoltà,

non

non pero si haveva da far intendere il tutto ad altri : e che fara bisogno veder il breve della faculta per ampliarle dove fusse necessario: alche io risposi haverlo gia fatto vedere a Monsieur d'Arras, il quale non disse altra: e dubitando io che questa non fusse via di maggior dilatione dissi a S. Maesta, che devendosi come io intendeva e come S. Maesta doveva saper meglio, fare in breve il Parlamento, era d'avertire grandimente, che non si facesse senza conclusione nella causa dell'obedienza della chiesa : che quando altrimenti si facesse, sarebbe d'un grandissimo scandalo a tutto il Mondo, e danno alla detta causa : E che se bene la Regina a fare un cossi grande atto, haveva giudicato haver bisogno della congiunzione del Re suo Marito, come che non esse *bonam mulierem esse solam*, se hora che Iddio ha prosperato e condotto al fine questa santa congiunzione, si differisse piu l'essecutione di questo effetto, che deve esser il Principio et il Fundamento di tutte le loro Regie attioni, non restarebbe via di satisfar a Dio, ne a gli huomini: e dicendo S. Maesta che bisognava anco haver grand rispetto alla mala dispositione de gli interessati, e quanto universalmente sia abborito questo nome d'obedienza della chiesa, e questo cappel rosso, e l'habito ancora de' Religiosi, voltatosi all' hora a Mons. Nuncio e in tal proposito parlando de' frati condotti di Spagna dal Re suo figliuolo che fu consegnato far loro mutar l'habito, se bene cio non si feci, ne si conveniva fare : condire anco di quanto importanza fusse il tumulto del popolo, et in tal proposito toccando anche de' i mali officii che non cessavano di fare per ogni via i nemici esterni. Io risposi che volendo aspettare che tutti da se si disponessero, e che cessasse ogni impedimento, saria un non venir mai a fine; perchioche, gli interessati massimamente, altro non vorriano se non che si continuasse nel presente stato, con tenere et godere esse, tutto quello che

hanno. In fine fu concluso che si aspettasse la risposta d'Inghilterra, col ritorno del Secretario Eras, che faria fra pochi di, e che in questo mezzo io pensassi e conferissi di quelle cose con Monsieur d'Arras. V. Beatitudine può con la sua prudenza vedere in che stato si trovi questa causa; e come sarà necessario, che qui si trattino le difficoltà sopra questa beni; e per non tediare con maggior lunghezza quel di piu che mi occurreria dirle. V. Santità si degnira intendere dall Agente mio, alla quale con la debita reverenza bacio i santissimi piedi pregando il Sig. Iddio che la conservi longamente a servizio della sua Chiesa. Di Bruxelles alli 13 d'October 1554.

Reginaldus Card. Polus.

A Letter of Cardinal Pool's to Philip the 2d, complaining of the Delays that had been made, and desiring a speedy admittance into England.

Serenissime Rex,

JAm annus est cum istius regiae domus fores pulsare cæpi, nedum quisquam eas mihi apperuit. Tu vero, Rex, si quæras, ut solent qui suas fores pulsare audiunt, quisnam pulset? atque ego hoc tantum respondeam me esse qui ne meo assensu regia ista domus ei clauderetur, quæ tecum simul eam nunc tenet, passus sum me domo & Patria expelli, & exilium viginti annorum hac de causa pertuli. An si hoc dicam non vel uno hoc nomine dignus videar cui & in Patriam reditus & ad vos aditus detur? At ego nec meo nomine nec privatam Personam gerens pulso, aut quidquam postulo, sed ejus nomine ejusque Personam referens, qui summi Regis & Pastoris hominum in Terris vicem gerit. Hic est Petri Successor: atque

atque adeo ut non minus vere dicam, ipse Petrus, cujus
 Autoritas & Potestas cum antea in isto Regno maxime
 vigeret ac floureret, postquam non passa est jus Regiæ
 domus ei adimi, quæ nunc eam possidet, ex eo per
 summam injuriam est ejecta. Is Regias per me fores
 jampridem pulsat, & tamen quæ reliquis omnibus patent
 ei uni nondum aperiuntur. Quid ita ejus ne pulsantis
 sonum an vocantis vocem non audierunt, qui intus sunt ?
 audierunt sane, & quidem non minore cum admiratione
 divinæ Potentiæ & Benignitatis erga Ecclesiam, quam
 olim Maria illa affecta fuerit, cum ut est in Actis Aposto-
 lorum, Rhode ancilla ei nunciasset Petrum quem Rex in
 vincula conjecerat, ut mox necaret, & pro quo Ecclesia
 assidue precabatur, e carcere liberatum ante ostium pul-
 santem stare. Ut enim hoc ei ceterisque qui cum illa
 erant magnam attulit admirationem, ita nunc qui norunt
 eos qui Petri Autoritatem Potestatemque in isto Regno
 retinendam esse contendebant, in vincula Herodiano Im-
 perio conjectos, & crudelissime interfectos fuisse, quin
 etiam Successorum Petri nomina e libris omnibus sublata
 in quibus preces Ecclesiæ pro eorum incolumitate ac
 Salute continebantur, qui inquam hæc norunt, facta ad
 omnem memoriam Petri Autoritatis a Christo traditæ
 penitus ex animis hominum delendam, qui fieri potest ut
 non maxime admirentur hoc divinæ Benignitatis & Po-
 tentiæ pignus ac testimonium, Petrum nunc quasi iterum
 e carcere Herodis liberatum, ad Regiæ domus fores unde
 hæc omnia iniquissima in eum edicta emanarunt, pulsan-
 tem stare, & cum hoc maxime mirandum est, tum illud
 non minus mirum, a Maria Regina domum hanc teneri :
 sed cur illa tamdiu foras aperire distulit. De ancilla quidem
 illud Mariæ scriptum est, eam Petri voce audita prænimio
 gaudio suæ quasi oblitam, de aperendo non cogitasse :
 rem prius, ut Mariæ aliisque qui cum ea erant nunciaret,
 accurrisse,

accurrisse, qui cum primo an ita esset dubitassent, mox cum Petrus pulsare pergeret aperierunt, neque illum domo recipere sunt veriti, etsi maximam timendi causam habebant, Herode ipso vivo & regnante. Hic vero quid dicam de Maria Regina, gaudeo ne eam an timore esse prohibitam quominus aperuerit; presertim cum ipsa Petri vocem audierit, cum certo sciat eum ad domus suæ januam jamdiu pulsantem stare: cum admirabilem Dei in hac re potentiam agnoscat, qui non per Angelum, ut tunc Petrum e carcere Herodis, sed sua manu eduxit, dejecta porta ferrea quæ viam ad Regiam ejus domum intercludebat: scio equidem illam gaudere, scio etiam vero timere; neque enim nisi timeret tam diu distulisset. Verum si Petri liberatione gaudet, si rei miraculum agnoscit, quid impedimento fuit quo minus ei ad januam lætabunda occurrerit, eumque meritis Deo gratias agens, introduxerit, Herode presertim mortuo, omnique ejus imperio ad eam delato? An fortassis divina Providentia quæ te dilectum Petri Filium & ei virum destinarat, illam timore aliquo tantisper affici permisit, dum venisses, ut utriusque ad rem tam præclaram & salutarem agendam, opera atque officium conjungeretur: equidem sic antea hunc Mariæ Reginae conjugis tuæ timorem, quod etiam ad eam scripsi sum interpretatus: ac propterea ad te nunc, virum ejus, Principem religiosissimum, scribo, & abs te ipsius Petri Christi Vicarii nomine postulo, ut illi omnes timoris causas prorsus excutias: habes vero expeditissimam excutiendi rationem, si consideres eique proponas, quam indignum sit si dum te illa corporis sui sponsum accerferit, cum non deessent quæ timenda viderentur, tamen omnem timorem sola vicerit, nunc te tanto Principi illi conjuncto, timore prohiberi quominus aditum ad se aperiat sponsæ animæ suæ, mecum una & cum Petro tamdiu ad fores expectanti; qui presertim tot & tam miris modis custodem ejus se, de-
fenso-

fenforemque esse declaraverit. Noli enim, Rex, putare,
 me, aut solum ad vestram Regiam domum, aut uno tan-
 tum Petro comitatum venisse; cuius rei hoc quidem tibi
 certum argumentum esse potest, quod tamdiu persevero
 pulsans: nam sive ego solus venissem, solus jampridem
 abiissem, querens & exostulans quæ aliis omnibus pate-
 ant, mihi uni oclusas esse fores; sive una mecum solus
 Petrus, jampridem is quoque discessisset, meque secum ab-
 duxisset, pulvere pedum excusso, quod ei preceptum fuit
 a Domino ut faceret quotiescunque ejus nomine aliquo
 accedens non admitteretur. Cum vero nihil ego, quod
 ad me quidem attinet conquerens, perseverem, cum Pe-
 trus pulsare non desistat, utrumque scito ab ipso Christo
 retineri, ut sibi sponso animæ utriusque vestrum aditus
 ad vos patefiat. Neque enim unquam verebor dicere,
 Christum in hac Legatione, qua pro ejus Vicario fungor,
 mecum adeste: quamdiu quidem mihi conscius ero me ni-
 hil meum, me non vestra, sed vos ipsos toto animo om-
 nique studio quærere. Tu vero, Princeps Catholice, cui
 nunc divina Providentia & Benignitate additum est altè-
 rum hoc præclarum *Fidei Defensoris* cognomen, quo Re-
 ges Angliæ Apostolica Petri Autoritate sunt aucti atque
 ornati, tecum nunc considera quam id tuæ Pietati con-
 veniat, cum omnibus omnium Principum ad te Legatis
 aditus patuerit, ut tibi de hoc ipso cognomine adepto
 gratularentur, solum Successoris Petri qui hoc dedit, Le-
 gatum, qui propterea missus est ut te in solio Regni di-
 vina summi omnium Regis quam affert pace & gratia, con-
 firmet, non admitti? An si quidquam hic ad *timorem*
 proponitur, quominus eum admittis non multo magis
 Christi hac in re metuenda esset offensio, quod ejus Le-
 gatus qui omnium primus audiri debuit, tamdiu fores ex-
 pectet, cum cæteri homines qui multo post venerunt,
 nulla interposita mora, introducti auditique sint & hono-
 rifice

(40)
rifice dimissi. At hic conqueri incipio; conqueror quidem, sed idcirco conqueror, ne justam tuæ Majestati causam de me conquerendi præbeam, quam sane præberem, si cum periculi, quod ex hac cunctatione admittendi Legati à Christo Vicario missi, nobis vestroque Regno impendat, Reginam sæpe admonuerim, nihil de ea re ad Majestatem tuam scriberem; quod officium cum tibi a me pro eo quo fungor munere maxime debeatur, id me satis persoluturum esse arbitror, si his Literis ostendero quantum periculi ei immineat, cui illud vere dici potest, *distulisti Christum tuum*. Is autem Christum differt, qui Legatum missum ab ejus Vicario, ad requirendam Obedientiam Ecclesiæ, ipsi Christo debitam, ex quo nostra omnium pendet Salus, non statim admittit. Differs vero, tu Princeps, si cum accersitus fueris, ut pro munere Regio viam ad hanc divinam Obedientiam in tuo isto Regno restituendam munias, ipse alia agas.

F I N I S.



E R R A T A.

Page 23. line 4. for *fructum*, read *fructus*. L. 7. f. *bonorundem*, r. *bonorum*. L. 11. f. *posterioribus*, r. *possessoribus*. P. 26. l. 29. f. *ob*, r. *ab*. P. 29. l. 1. r. *containing*. P. 31. l. 21. f. *friverle*, r. *scriverle*.

